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THE

CHAHÁR MAQÁLA

("FOUR DISCOURSES")

OF

NIDHÁMÍ-I-ʿARÚḌÍ-I-SAMARQANDÍ.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

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THE CHAHÁR MAQÁLA.

In my article on *The Sources of Dawlatsháh*, which appeared in the January number of the Journal, I have already spoken of the excellent work which I now have the pleasure to present in English dress. For my translation I have used the Tihrán lithographed edition of A.H. 1305, which I have carefully collated throughout with the older of the two British Museum MSS. (Or. 3,507, dated A.H. 1017), and, in all doubtful passages, with the second MS. (Or. 2,955, dated A.H. 1274) also. These MSS. are fully described in Rieu's *Persian Supplement*, pp. 244–245 and 265, Nos. 390 and 418. It remains only to say a few words concerning the author and the book.

The *Chahár Maqála* contains, as its name implies, four discourses, each of which treats of a class of men deemed by the author indispensable for the service of kings, to wit, (1) scribes (*dabírán*) or secretaries; (2) poets; (3) astrologers; and (4) physicians. Each discourse begins with certain general considerations on the class in question, which are afterwards illustrated by anecdotes, drawn, in large measure, from the personal reminiscences of the author, who was himself a court-poet and a frequenter of royal assemblies. The total number of these anecdotes, which constitute at once the most entertaining and the most valuable portion of the book, is about forty, an average of ten to each "discourse." So far as I know, only two of them, one concerning Firdawsí and the other about 'Umar Khayyám, have hitherto been cited from this work. Of these the first (translated by Ethé in vol. xlviii of the

Z.D.M.G., pp. 89–94) was taken, not from the *Chahár Maqála* itself, but from Ibn Isfandiyár's *History of Ṭabaristán*, where it is quoted *in extenso*; while the second seems to have been known only in abridged citations, the misunderstanding of which gave rise to the Rose-tree cult of the 'Umar Khayyám Society, referred to at p. 414 of the April number of the Journal.

Of the excellent style of the *Chahár Maqála*, a style at once strong, concise, and pregnant with meaning, though not always easy or simple, I have already spoken at pp. 40, 53, 56–57, and 61–69 of the January number of the Journal, so that there is no occasion to insist upon it further. As, however, my translation will occupy two numbers of the Journal, it may be convenient that I should here give a brief table of its contents.

INTRODUCTORY (*Tihrán ed.*, pp. 1–27).

(1) *Doxology, and Dedication to the Ghúrid Prince Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí b. Mas'úd, son of Fakhru'd-Dín Mas'úd, brother of Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad, and nephew of "the World-consumer" (Jahán-súz) 'Alá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn who reigned* A.D. 1149–1170 (pp. 1–6).

(2) *Beginning of the book. The author here gives his full name as Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. 'Alí an-Nidhámí as-Samarqandí, and states that he has been in the service of the House of Ghúr for forty-five years* (pp. 6–7).

(3) *Excursus* i, *on the different grades of Being, and the Creation and Disposition of the World* (pp. 7–11).

(4) *Excursus* ii, *on the Development of the Mineral, Vegetable, and Animal Kingdoms* (pp. 11–14).

(5) *Excursus* iii, *on the Evolution, Faculties, and Senses (internal and external) of Man; the three classes of men; and the Kingly and Prophetic Offices* (pp. 14–26), *including—*

(6) *Anecdote* i, *on the Nasnás, or Wild Man* (pp. 20–21), *and ending with—*

(7) *Plan of work and brief statement of contents* (pp. 26–27).

FIRST DISCOURSE: SECRETARIES (pp. 27–59).

Nature of the Secretarial Function and Qualifications of the Perfect Scribe (pp. 27–33).[1]

Anecdote ii, *concerning Iskáfí* (pp. 33–36).

Anecdote iii, *on Iskáfí's despatch announcing the defeat of Mákán* (pp. 36–40).

Anecdote iv, *showing that a Secretary of State should not be exposed to domestic worry* (pp. 40–42).

Anecdote v, *concerning the Ṣáḥib Isma'íl ibn 'Abbád* (pp. 42–43).

Anecdote vi, *concerning Aḥmad Ḥasan of Maymand and the Lamghán deputies* (pp. 43–46).

Anecdote vii, *concerning al-Ma'mún's wedding* (pp. 46–51).

Anecdote viii, *concerning al-Mustarshid's oration against the Seljúqs* (pp. 51–53).

Anecdote ix, *concerning the Gúr Khán* (pp. 53–54).

Anecdote x, *concerning the supernatural eloquence of the Qur'án* (pp. 54–55).

Anecdote xi, *concerning Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'lláh, Bughrá Khán's secretary* (pp. 55–59).

SECOND DISCOURSE: POETS (pp. 59–113).

Nature of the Poetic Art, and Qualifications of the Expert Poet (pp. 59–69), *including*—

Anecdote xii, *concerning Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'lláh of Khujistán* (pp. 59–61), *and*—

List of the eminent poets who have shed lustre on the courts of the various Persian dynasties down to the author's time (pp. 62–64).

Anecdote xiii, *concerning Rúdagi's skill in improvisation* (pp. 69–76).

Anecdote xiv, *concerning Maḥmúd and Ayáz, and 'Unṣuri's improvisation* (pp. 76–79).

Anecdote xv, *concerning Farrukhí's improvisation* (pp. 79–87).

[1] p. 31 is by mistake omitted in the pagination, which, for convenience of reference, I have followed without correction.

Anecdote xvi, *concerning the author's early struggles, and Mu'izzí's counsel and encouragement* (pp. 87–93).
Anecdote xvii, *concerning the anger of Ṭughán Sháh and Azraqí's improvisation* (pp. 93–95).
Anecdote xviii, *concerning the imprisonment of Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán and others by Sulṭán Ibráhím* (pp. 95–98).
Anecdote xix, *concerning 'Am'aq and Rashídí* (pp. 98–101).
Anecdote xx, *concerning Firdawsí* (pp. 101–109).
Anecdote xxi, *autobiographical* (pp. 109–113).

THIRD DISCOURSE: ASTROLOGERS (pp. 113–138).

Nature of Astrology, and Qualifications of the Expert Astrologer (pp. 113–115).
Anecdote xxii, *concerning Ya'qúb b. Isḥáq al-Kindí* (pp. 115–118).
Anecdote xxiii, *concerning Sulṭán Maḥmúd and Abú Rayḥán al-Birúní* (pp. 118–123).
Anecdote xxiv, *concerning the skill possessed by an old woman in the author's service in the Lore of the Stars* (pp. 123–125).
Anecdote xxv, *concerning Maḥmúd Dá'údí, the crazy soothsayer* (pp. 125–128).
Anecdote xxvi, *concerning al-Mawṣilí, the Astrologer, and the Nidhámu'l-Mulk* (pp. 128–130).
Anecdote xxvii, *concerning 'Umar Khayyám's prediction as to his place of burial* (pp. 130–131).
Anecdote xxviii, *concerning a weather forecast made by 'Umar Khayyám* (pp. 131–133).
Anecdote xxix, *concerning a vagrant and irresponsible Astrologer* (pp. 133–136).
Anecdote xxx, *concerning a successful prognostication made by the author* (pp. 136–138).

FOURTH DISCOURSE: PHYSICIANS (pp. 138–173).

Nature of the Science and Art of Medicine, and Qualifications of the Physician (pp. 138–141).

Anecdote xxxi, *concerning faith-healing* (pp. 141–146), *including a dissertation on the most excellent works on Medicine, and the pre-eminence of Avicenna.*

Anecdote xxxii, *concerning a heroic cure wrought by Bukht-Yishú'* (pp. 146–147).

Anecdote xxxiii, *concerning a remarkable cure of Rheumatism* (pp. 147–149).

Anecdote xxxiv, *concerning another remarkable cure effected by Muḥammad Zakariyyá ar-Rázi by the instrumentality of mental emotion* (pp. 149–154).

Anecdote xxxv, *concerning the adventures and the skill of Avicenna* (pp. 154–163).

Anecdote xxxvi, *concerning a heroic cure wrought by 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla's physician Kámilu's-Saná'at* (pp. 163–165).

Anecdote xxxvii, *concerning a remarkable cure of Melancholia effected by Avicenna* (pp. 165–168).

Anecdote xxxviii, *concerning the restoration to life of a man apparently dead by Adíb Isma'íl* (pp. 168–169).

Anecdote xxxix, *concerning the reproof addressed by a physician to a theologian whom he had saved from imminent death* (pp. 169–170).

Anecdote xl, *concerning a cure effected by Galen* (pp. 170–171).

Anecdote xli, *concerning a remarkable cure wrought by the author* (pp. 171–173).

Conclusion (pp. 173–174).

Postscript by the editor of the Tihrán edition (pp. 174–176).

As regards the author, Niḍhámí-i-'Aruḍí of Samarqand, he will best reveal himself by his own numerous allusions to his career and adventures. His present work was written, at least in part, during the lifetime of 'Alá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn *Jahán-súz* ("the World-consumer"), who died in A.D. 1161, and since he speaks of himself as having been forty-five years in the service of the House of Ghúr, it is evident that he must have been born towards the end of the eleventh century of our era. The chief dates which he gives in the autobiographical portions of his work are as

follows. In A.H. 504 (A.D. 1110–1111) he heard traditions concerning Rúdagí at Samarqand (Anecdote xiii). In A.H. 506 (A.D. 1112–1113) he met 'Umar Khayyám at Níshápúr (Anecdote xxvii). In A.H. 509 (A.D. 1115–1116) he was at Herát (Anecdote xvii). In the following year he was at Níshápúr (Anecdote i) and Ṭús (Anecdotes xvi and xx), where he visited Firdawsí's tomb. His position and income were at this time precarious, but, encouraged by the poet Mu'izzí, he succeeded in attracting the king's notice and winning his approval. In A.H. 512 (A.D. 1118–1119) he was again at Níshápúr (Anecdote xxxi), and once more in A.H. 530 (A.D. 1135–1136), when he visited 'Umar Khayyám's grave, and remarked the fulfilment of the prediction uttered by the Astronomer-poet twenty-four years earlier (Anecdote xxvii). In A.H. 547 (A.D. 1152–1153) he was involved in the defeat of the army of Ghúr by Sanjar b. Malikshán the Seljúq, and was for a while in hiding at Herát (Anecdotes xxx and xli). His life, in short, seems to have been spent chiefly in Khurásán at royal courts, where he had opportunities of meeting many noteworthy persons. Though a poet by profession, he seems to have been equally ready to practise Astrology (Anecdote xxx) and Medicine (Anecdote xli). Of his personal character, as of his ability, his work produces, on the whole, a very favourable impression, and the book itself I should be disposed to describe as one of the most interesting, the most instructive, the most charming, and the best written Persian prose works which it has been my fortune to come across. Of this, however, the reader shall judge for himself.

Notices of the writer occur in 'Awfí's *Lubábu'l-Albáb* (ch. x, § 2, Poets of Transoxania), from which we learn nothing about his personality save that he bore the *laqab* of Najmu'd-Dín; Dawlatsháh's *Tadhkira* (Ṭabaqa i, No. 13, pp. 60–61 of my forthcoming edition), where laudatory mention is made of the *Chahár Maqála*; Hájí Khalífa (No. 4,348, s.v. نظامی عروضی), who calls him *Niẓhámu'd-Dín* (instead of *Najmu'd-Dín*), which is probably correct; the

Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá of that most accomplished of recent Persian writers, Riḍá-qulí Khán (vol. i, p. 635), who places him higher as a prose-writer than as a poet; and, no doubt, other biographical works. But, leaving these aside, let us now allow the author to speak for himself, only premising that, where reference is made to various readings, the older MS. (Or. 3,507) is denoted by A, the other MS. (Or. 2,955) by B, and the Tihrán lithographed edition by L.

The Four Discourses (Chahár Maqála) of Nidhámí-i-'Arúḍí-i-Samarqandí.

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Clement.

Praise and thanks and glory to that King who, by[1] the instrumentality of the Cherubim and Angels of the Spirit World, brought into being the World of Return and Restoration, and, by means thereof, created and adorned the World of Becoming and Decay, maintaining it by the Command and Prohibition of the Prophets and Saints, and restraining it by the swords and pens of Kings and Ministers. And blessings upon the Lord of both worlds, who was the most perfect of the Prophets, and invocations of grace upon his Companions and those of his Household, who were the most excellent of Saints and Vicars. And honour to the King of this time, that learned, just, divinely-favoured, victorious, and heaven-aided monarch, *Ḥusámu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín*, Helper of Islám and the Muslims, Exterminator of the infidels and polytheists, Subduer of the heretical and the froward, Supporter of hosts in the worlds, Pride of Kings and Emperors, Succourer of mankind, Protector of these days, Fore-arm of the Caliphate, Beauty of the Faith and Glory of the Nation, Order of the Arabs and the Persians, noblest of mankind, *Shamsu'l-Ma'álí*,

[1] L. has بلا توسّط, "without the intervention."

Maliku'l-Umará, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí b. Mas'úd,[1] Help of the Prince of Believers, may his life be filled with success, may the greater part of the world be assigned to his name, and may the ordering of the affairs of Adam's seed be directed by his care! For to-day he is the most excellent of the kings of the age in nobility, pedigree, doughty deeds, judgement, statesmanship, justice, equity, valour, and generosity, as well as in the adorning of his territory, the embellishment of his realms, the maintenance of his friends, the subjugation of his foes, the raising of armies, the safeguarding of the people, the securing of the roads, and the tranquilizing of the realms,[2] and also in that upright judgement, clear understanding, strong resolve, and firm determination, by the excellence of which the concatenation of the House of Shansab[3] is held together and maintained in order, and by the perfection of which the strong arm of that Dynasty is strengthened and braced. May God Almighty give him full portion, together with the other kings of that line, of dominion and domain, and throne and fortune, by His Favour and His Grace!

But to proceed. It is an old custom and ancient practice, which custom is maintained and observed, that the Author, in the introduction to his discourse and preface of his book, should commemorate somewhat of his patron's praise, and record some prayer on behalf of the object of his eulogy. But I, a loyal servant, instead of praise and prayer for this prince, will make mention in this book of those favours ordained and vouchsafed by God Almighty to this King of kingly parentage, that, these being submitted to his world-illuminating judgement, he may betake himself to the expression of his thanks for them. For in

[1] This Prince belonged to the Bámiyán line of the Ghúrid Dynasty, was the son of Fakhru'd-Dín Mas'úd, and brother of Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad, and flourished in the latter part of the sixth century of the *hijra*.

[2] L. has از مهالک, "from perils," instead of مهالک.

[3] See *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* (ed. Nassau Lees), p. 101 et seqq. The correct reading is found only in A. B. has انسانیت, L. آل شیب.

the uncreated Scripture and unmade Word, God says, "*Verily if ye be thankful, We will give unto you increase*"[1]; for the gratitude of the servant is an alchemy for the favours of the Munificent Lord. Briefly, then, it behoves this great King and puissant Prince to know that to-day, upon the whole of this globe of dust, and within the circle of this green firmament,[2] there is no king in more ample circumstances than this monarch, nor any potentate enjoying more abundant good than this sovereign. He hath the gift of youth and the blessing of constant health; his father and mother are alive; congenial brothers are on his right hand and on his left. And what father is like his sire, the mighty, divinely-strengthened, ever-victorious, heaven-aided *Fakhru'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín*,[3] Prince of the realms of Írán, King of the Mountains (may God prolong his continuance and continue to the heights his exaltation!), who is the most puissant of the monarchs of the age, and the most excellent of the princes of the time in judgement, statecraft, knowledge, chivalry, swordsmanship, strength of arm, treasure, and muniment! Supported by ten[4] thousand men bearing spears and handling reins, he hath made himself a shield before his sons, so that no disturbing blast of the zephyr may so much as blow on one of their servants. Under his high protection and unassailable precaution (may God increase their degree!), prayers, of which each clause is breathed upwards at full morning-tide to the Court of God, co-operate with a far-trailing host and wheeling army. What a brother, too, like the royal Prince *Shamsu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín*, Light of Islám and the Muslims (may his victories be rendered glorious!), who reaches the extreme limit of endeavour in the service of this my master (whose exaltation may God perpetuate!). Praise be to God that this my master omits naught either

[1] Qur'án, xiv, 7.

[2] A. has چتر, "umbrella," for چرخ, "firmament."

[3] Fakhru'd-Dín Mas'úd b. 'Izzu'd-Dín Ḥasan, A.H. 550 (A.D. 1155).

[4] L. om. "ten."

in reward or retribution![1] And a favour yet greater is this, that the All-Perfect Benefactor and Unchanging Giver hath bestowed on him an uncle like the Lord of the World and Sovereign of the East, *'Alá'u'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín* Abú 'Alí al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥusayn,[2] *Ikhtiyáru Amíri'l-Mú'minín* (may God prolong his life[3] and cause his kingdom to endure!), who, with fifty thousand mail-clad men, strenuous in endeavour, obliterated the hosts of the world, and set in a corner all the kings of the age. May God (blessed and exalted is He!) long vouchsafe all to one another, and give all long enjoyment of one another's company, and fill the world with light by their achievements, by His Favour, and Bounty, and Grace!

Beginning of the Book.

Your loyal servant and faithful retainer Aḥmad b. 'Umar[4] b. 'Alí an-Niḍhámí al-'Arúḍí as-Samarqandí, who for forty-five years hath been devoted to the service of this House and inscribed in the register of the vassals of this Dynasty, desireth to render a service to the Supreme Imperial Court (may God exalt it!), and to set forth, according to the canons of Philosophy, duly adorned with decisive proofs, trenchant arguments and sound counsel, what kingship truly is, who is truly king, whence is derived this honourable office, to whom rightly appertaineth this favour, and in what manner one ought to show one's gratitude for, and after what fashion accept, this privilege, so as to be second to the Lord of the children of men and third to the All-Provider of the Universe; for in the

[1] A. adds: بلکه جهان روشن بروی اوهمی بیند و عمر شیرین بجمال اوهمی گذارد.

[2] 'Alá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn, called *Jahán-súz*, "the World-consumer," A.H. 544–556.

[3] L. for عمره has عزّه, "his glory."

[4] L. om. [بن عمر].

Incontrovertible Scripture and Eternal Word God hath co-ordinated on one thread the pearls represented by these three exalted titles: "*Obey God,*" saith He, "*and obey His Apostle, and such as possess authority amongst yourselves.*"[1]

Now in the grades of existences and the ranks of the intelligibles, apart from the prophetic function, which is the supreme limit of man's degree, there is no rank higher than sovereignty, which is naught else but a Divine gift. God, glorious is His Name, hath accorded this position to the King of the age, and bestowed on him this degree, so that he may walk after the way of former kings and maintain the people after the manner of bygone ages.

EXCURSUS I.

The August Discernment (may God exalt it!) must know that every being which inhabits the Universe falls necessarily into one of two categories. Either it is a being which is self-existent, and is called '*the Necessarily Existent,*' which is God Almighty, great is His Glory, who existeth by virtue of Himself, and who, therefore, hath existed for ever, since He dependeth not on aught else; and who was always, since He subsisteth by Himself, not by another. But that existence whose being is through another is called '*Contingent Being,*' and this is such as we are, since our being is from the seed, and the seed is from the blood, and the blood is from food, and food is from the sun, the earth, the water and the air, which in turn are from something else; and all these are such as yesterday were not, and to-morrow will not be. Now when reflection is carried to the uttermost, it appeareth that this Causal Nexus reacheth upwards to a Cause which deriveth not its being from another, but existeth by itself; and that the Creator is all, and from Him all deriveth its existence and subsistence. And when this matter is somewhat pondered, it will become clear that

[1] Qur'án, iv, 62.

Phenomena consist of Being tinctured with Not-being, while He IS by a continuity which reaches from Eternity Past to Eternity to come. And since the essence of Phenomena is of Not-being, they must inevitably return again to nothing; and again, as touching the basis of the human race,[1] it is said, "*Everything shall return unto its Origin*," more especially in this world of Becoming and Decay. Therefore we, who are contingent in our being, have our origin in Not-being; while He, who existeth necessarily, is the Essence of Being, even as He (glorious is His state) saith in the Perspicuous Word and Firm Support, "*All things perish save His Countenance.*"[2]

Now you must know that this world lies in the hollow of the Heaven of the Moon[3] and within the circle of this first sphere, and is called "the World of Becoming and Decay." And you must thus conceive it, that within the concavity of the Heaven of the Moon lies the Orb of Fire, round about which extends the Heaven of the Moon; and that within the Heaven of Fire is the Air, surrounded by the Fire, and within the Air is the Water, surrounded by the Air, while within the Water is the earth, with the Water round about it. And in the midst of the earth is an imaginary point, from which all straight lines drawn to the Heaven of the Moon are equal; and when we speak of "down," we mean this point and what lies nearest to it; and when we speak of "up," we mean the sphere of the remotest heaven, together with what lies nearest to it, this being a heaven[4] above the Zodiacal Heaven, having naught beyond it, for with it the material world terminates, or comes to an end.

[1] I here follow L., which has: و نیز در بنیان زمرهٔ انسان گفته اند. A. has نبیّان, "the Prophets of the human race have said."

[2] Qur'án, xxviii, 88.

[3] This is the lowest or innermost of the nine celestial spheres which environ the earth. Concerning the Muslim Cosmogony, see Dieterici's *Makrokosmos*, p. 178 et seqq.

[4] This outermost, or ninth, celestial sphere is the *Primum mobile* of the Ptolemaic system, the *Falaku'l-Aṭlas* or *Falaku'l-Aflák* of the Muslim philosophers.

Now when God Almighty, by His effective Wisdom, desired to produce in this world minerals, plants, animals, and men, He created the stars, and in particular the sun and moon, whereon he made the growth and decay of these to depend. And the special property of the sun is this, that by its reflection it warms all things when it stands over against them, and supplies them through a medium with heat, and draws them up—that is, attracts them. So, by its juxtaposition, it warmed the water; and by means of the warmth, attracted it; until, in a long while, it laid bare one quarter or more of the earth's surface, by reason of the much vapour which ascended and rose up therefrom. Now the nature of the water is this, that it can become stone, as it is well known to do in certain places, as may be actually witnessed.[1] So mountains were produced from the water and the shining of the sun; and hereby the earth became somewhat raised from what it was, while the water sank and dried up, according to that fashion which is witnessed. This portion, therefore, is called '*the Uncovered Quarter*,' for the reason above stated; and it is also called '*the Inhabited Quarter*,' because animals dwell therein.

Excursus II.

When the influences of these stars had acted on the whole of[2] these elements, they were reflected back from the midst of the earth and water, from that imaginary point [mentioned above], by the aid of the fire and wind, and the phenomena of the inorganic world were produced, such as mountains and mines, clouds, lightning, thunder, thunderbolts, shooting stars, comets, meteors, ... ,[3] halos, conflagrations, earthquakes, and all manner of

[1] The author alludes either to petrifaction and the formation of stalactites, or to ice.

[2] A., B., در اقطار, "on [all] parts." L. has و قسط, which seems to me to be nonsense.

[3] A., B., L. add وعضی, a word of which I have been unable to ascertain the meaning.

fountains, as has been fully explained in works treating of the effects of the celestial bodies, but for the explanation and discussion of which there is no room in this brief manual. But when time began, and the cycles of heaven became continuous, and the composition of this lower world became matured, and the time was come for the fertilization of that interspace which lay between the water and the air, the vegetable world was manifested. Then God, blessed and exalted is He, created for that substance whereby the plants were made manifest four subservient forces and three faculties. Of these four subservient forces, one was that which kept drawing to it whatever was suitable for its purpose, and this is called 'Attraction' (*Jádhiba*). Another keeps what the first may have attracted, and this is called 'Fixation' (*Másika*). The third is that which assimilates what has been attracted, and transmutes it from its former state until it becomes like unto itself, and this is called 'Assimilation' (*Hádima*). The fourth is that which rejects what is not appropriate, and is called 'Excretion' (*Dáfi'a*). And of the three faculties, one is that which increaseth it by diffusing throughout it nutritious matters with a suitable and equal diffusion. The second is that which accompanies this nutriment until it reaches the extremities. The third is that which, when the organism has attained perfection and begins to tend towards defect, appears and produces germs, in order that, if destruction overtake the parent in this world, these may become its substitute and representative, so that the order of the world may be guarded from detriment, and the species may not cease. This is called the 'Reproductive Faculty' (*Quwwat-i-Muwallida*).

So this kingdom rose superior to the mineral and vegetable kingdoms in these several ways which have been mentioned; and the far-reaching Wisdom of the Creator so ordained, that these kingdoms should be connected successively and continuously, so that in the mineral kingdom the first thing which attained completeness and underwent the process of evolution became higher in organization until it grew to coral (*marján*, i.e. *bussad*), which is the ultimate term of

the mineral world,[1] until it was connected with the first stage of plant life. And the first thing in the vegetable kingdom is the thorn, and the last the date-palm, which has been assimilated to the animal kingdom, since it needs the male to fertilize it so that it may bear fruit;[2] while another [member of this kingdom] flees from its foe, for the vine flees from the *'ashaqa*,[3] a plant which, when it twists round the vine, causes it to shrivel up. In the vegetable kingdom, therefore, there is nothing higher than the date-palm and the vine, inasmuch as they are connected with the superior kingdom, and have outstepped the limits of their own world, and have evolved themselves in a higher direction.

Excursus III.

Now when this kingdom had attained perfection, and the influence of the 'Fathers' of the upper world had worked on the 'Mothers'[4] below, and these had assumed a finer temper, and the interspace between the air and the fire became involved, and a finer offspring resulted, the manifestation of the animal world took place. This took to itself the faculties possessed by the vegetable kingdom, and added thereunto two others, one the faculty of discovery, which is called the 'Perceptive Faculty' (*Mudrika*), whereby the animal discerns things; the second the power of voluntary movement, by the help of which the animal moves automatically, approaching that which is agreeable to it and retreating from that which is offensive to it; and this is called the 'Motor Faculty' (*Muḥarrika*).

Now the *Perceptive Faculty* is subdivided into ten branches, five of which are called the *External Senses* and five the *Internal Senses*. The former are *Touch, Taste, Hearing, Sight,*

[1] The Pearl, however, seems generally to be placed higher. See Dieterici's *Mikrokosmos*, p. 11.
[2] See Dieterici's *Mikrokosmos*, p. 25.
[3] A species of *Dolichos*. See Lane's Arabic Lexicon, s.v.
[4] By the 'Seven Fathers above' and the 'Four Mothers below' the seven planets and the four elements are intended.

and *Smell*. Now *Touch* is a sense distributed throughout the flesh and skin of the animal, so that the nerves perceive and discern anything which touches it, such as dryness and moisture, heat and cold, roughness and smoothness, harshness and softness. *Taste* is a sense located in that nerve which is distributed over the surface of the tongue, which apprehends tastes and dissolved flavours from those bodies which come in contact with it; and it is this sense which discriminates between sweet and bitter, sharp and sour, and the like of these. *Hearing* is a sense located in the nerve which is distributed about the auditory meatus, so that it detects any sound which is discharged against it by undulations of the air compressed between two impinging bodies, that is to say, two bodies brought into contact with one another, by the impact of which the air is thrown into waves and becomes the cause of sound, inasmuch as it acts upon the air which is stationary in the auditory meatus, comes into contact with it, reaches this nerve, and gives rise to the sensation of hearing. *Sight* is a faculty located in two nerve-bulbs, which discerns images projected on the crystalline humour, whether of figures or solid bodies, variously coloured by the medium of a translucent substance which subsists between it and the surfaces of reflecting bodies. *Smell* is a faculty located in a protuberance situated in the fore part of the brain and resembling the nipple of the female breast, which apprehends what the air inhaled brings to it of odours mingled with the vapours wafted by air-currents, or what is impressed upon it by diffusion from the odorific body.

The Five Internal Senses.[1] Now as to the Internal Senses, some are such as perceive sense-impressions, while others are such as apprehend ideas. The first is the 'Composite Sense' (*Hiss-i-mushtarika*), which is a faculty located in the anterior ventricles of the brain, and receptive into itself of any image apprehended by the external senses, or impressed upon them for communication to it, such

[1] See my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 144, 145.

perception being apprehended only when received by it. The second is the Imagination (*Khayál*), a faculty located in the posterior ventricles of the second convolution of the brain, which preserves what the *Composite Sense* has apprehended from the external senses, so that this remains in it after the subsidence of the sense-impressions. The third is the 'Imaginative Faculty' (*Mutakhayyila*), thus called when animals are under discussion, but, in the case of the human soul, named the 'Cogitative Faculty' (*Mutafakkira*). This is a faculty located in the middle ventricle of the brain, whose function it is to co-ordinate with one another, and to preserve, those particular percepts which are stored in the *Imagination*, and to keep them distinct from one another by the control of thought. The fourth is the 'Apprehensive Faculty' (*Wáhima*), which is a faculty located in the extremity of the middle ventricle of the brain. Its function is to discover the supra-sensual ideas existing in particular percepts. By it the kid distinguishes between its dam and a wolf, and the child between a piece of rope and a serpent. The fifth is the 'Retentive Faculty' (*Háfidha*), also called the 'Memory' (*Dhákira*), which is a faculty located in the posterior ventricle of the brain. It preserves those supra-sensual ideas discovered by the *Apprehension*; between which and itself the same relation subsists as between the *Imagination* and the *Composite Sense*, though the latter preserves forms and the former ideas.

Now all these are the servants of the *Animal Soul*, a substance having its well-spring in the heart, which, when it acts in the heart, is called the *Animal Spirit*, but when in the brain, the *Psychic Spirit*, and when in the liver, the *Natural Spirit*. It is a subtle vapour which rises from the blood, diffuses itself to the remotest arteries, and resembles the sun in luminosity. Every animal which possesses these Perceptive and Motor faculties, and these ten subordinate faculties derived therefrom, is called a perfect animal; but if any faculty is lacking in it, defective. Thus the snake has no ears, the ant no eyes, and these two are called deaf and blind; but none is more defective than the maggot,

which is a red worm found in the mud of streams,[1] called therefore *gil-khwára* ('mud-eater'), but in Transoxania *Za'ák-kirma* (?).[2] This is the lowest animal, while the highest is the satyr (*nasnás*),[3] a creature inhabiting the plains of Turkistán, of erect carriage, of vertical stature, with wide flat nails. It cherishes a great affection for men; wherever it sees them, it halts on their path and examines them attentively; and when it finds a solitary man, it carries him off; nay, it is even said that it will conceive from him. This, after mankind, is the highest of animals, inasmuch as in several respects it resembles man; first, in its erect stature; secondly, in the breadth of its nails and in the hair of its head.

Anecdote i.

I heard as follows from Abú Riḍá b. 'Abdu's-Salám of Níshápúr, in the Great Mosque at Níshápúr, in the year A.H. 510 (=A.D. 1116–1117):—"We were travelling towards Tamgháj,[4] and in our caravan were several thousand camels. One day, when we were marching in the midday heat, we saw on a hillock a woman, bare-headed, extremely beautiful in form, with a figure like a cypress, a face like the moon, and long hair, standing and looking at us. Although I spoke to her, she made no reply; and when I approached her, she fled, running so swiftly in her flight that no horse could overtake her. Our guides,[5] who were

[1] Cf. Dieterici's *Mikrokosmos*, p. 43.

[2] A. reads زعاك كرمه, B. زعاك كرمه, L. زعاك گربه.

[3] The term *nasnás* either denotes a real animal or a fabulous monster. In the first sense it is used of various kinds of monkeys, e.g. the orang-outang and marmoset; in the latter it is equivalent to the *Shiqq* or Half-man (which resembles a man cut in two vertically) of the Arabs, and the *Dív-mardum* of the Persians. See Qazwíní's *'Ajá'ibu'l-Makhlúqát*, p. 449; and my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 165, 267.

[4] See Qazwíní's *A'thárú'l-Bilád*, p. 275.

[5] The meaning of this word is conjectural. The sentence runs in A.: و کِری کشان ما ترکان بودند. . B. has و کرای کشان, otherwise the same as A. In L. the sentence runs: و کوی کشان تا برکان بودند.

Turks, said that this was a wild man, such as they call *nasnás.*"

Now you must know that it is nobler than other animals in these three respects which have been mentioned.

So when, by lapse of long ages and time, organization waxes more delicate, the moment comes for that interaction which takes place between the elements and the heavens, and man comes into being, bringing with him all that existed in the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, to which is added the capacity for intellectual concepts. So he becomes king over all, and brings all things under his control. For from the mineral world he made jewels, gold and silver his embellishment and adornment, while from iron, tin, copper, and lead he fashioned utensils for his use. From the vegetable kingdom also he made his food and raiment and carpets; and from the animal world he provided himself with steeds and beasts of burden. Moreover, from all three kingdoms he chose out medicaments wherewith to heal himself. Whence did there accrue to him all this superiority? By this, that he knew himself, and, by means of intellectual concepts, knew God. "*He who knoweth himself, knoweth his Lord.*"

So this kingdom [of man] became divided into three classes. The first is that class which is proximate to the Animal Kingdom, such as the wild men of the waste and the mountain, whose intelligence doth not more than suffice to secure their own livelihood, seek their own advantage, and ward off what is to their detriment. The second class compriseth the inhabitants of towns and cities, who possess civilization, mutually assist one another, and discover crafts and arts; but whose scientific attainments are limited to the organizing of such association as subsists between them, to the end that the different classes[1] may continue to exist. The third class comprises such as are independent of these things, whose occupation, by night and by day, in secret and in public, is to reflect, "Who

[1] Or perhaps "races." The word is انواع.

are we; for what reason did we come into existence, and who hath brought us into being?" In other words they hold debate concerning the real essences of things, reflect on their coming, and anxiously consider their departure, saying, "How have we come? Whither do we go?"

This class, again, is subdivided into two sorts; first, those who reach the essence of this object by means of masters, by laborious toil and absorption, and by reading and writing; and such are called *philosophers*. But there is yet another sort who, without master or book, reach the extreme limit of this problem, and these are called *prophets*.

Now, the peculiar virtues of the Prophet are three: first, that, without instruction, he knows all knowledges; secondly, that he gives information concerning yesterday and to-morrow otherwise than by analogical reasoning; and thirdly, that his soul hath such power that from whatever body he will he taketh the form and produceth another form, which thing none can do save such as are conformed to the Angelic World. Therefore in the Human World none is above him, and his command is effective for the well-being of the world; for whatever they have, he has, while possessing also an additional qualification which they have not, that is to say, communion with the Angelic World. This additional qualification is in brief termed the *Prophetic Function*, and is in detail such as we have explained.

Now, so long as such a man lives, he points out to his people what things conduce to well-being in both worlds, by the Command of God, glorious is His Name, communicated to him by means of the Angels. But when, by natural dissolution, he turns his face towards the other world, he leaves behind him a Code derived from the indications of God Almighty and his own sayings. And assuredly he requires to act as his substitute, and to maintain his Law and Practice, a vicegerent, who must needs be the most excellent of mankind and the most perfect product of his age, in order that he may revive this Law and carry out this Practice; and such an one

is called an *Imám*. This Imám can cope with the disasters of the East and the West, the North and the South, in such wise that the effects of his care extend alike to the most remote and the nearest, while his command and prohibition reach alike the intelligent and the ignorant. But he must needs have vicars to act for him in distant parts of the world, and not every one of these will have such power that all mankind shall be compelled to admit it. Hence there must be a leader, an administrator, a compeller, which administrator and compeller is called a *Monarch*, that is to say, a *King*; and his vicarious function *Sovereignty*. The King, therefore, is the lieutenant of the Imám, the Imám of the Prophet, and the Prophet of God (mighty and glorious is He!).

Well has it been said on this subject:

چنان دان که شاهی و پیغمبری ' دو گوهر بود در یک انگشتری '

"Then know that the functions of Prophet and King
Are set side by side like two stones in one ring."

Know, therefore, that the Regal and Prophetic offices ٣
are as two jewels in one ring, for the Prince of the sons of men himself hath said "*State and Church are twins*," since in form and essence neither differs, either as regards increase or defect, from the other. So, by virtue of this decree, no burden, after the Prophetic office, is weightier than Sovereignty, nor any function more laborious than that of governing. Hence a king needs round about him, as men on whose counsel, judgement, and deliberations depend the loosing and binding of the world, and the well-being and ill-being of the servants of God Almighty, such as are in every case the most excellent and most perfect of their time.

Now of the special ministers of Kings are the Secretary, the Poet, the Astrologer, and the Physician, and these can in no wise be dispensed with. For the maintenance of the administration is by the Secretary; the perpetuation of immortal renown by the Poet; the ordering of affairs by the Astrologer; and the health of the body by the Physician.

These four arduous functions and noble arts are amongst the branches of the Science of Philosophy; the functions of the Scribe and the Poet being branches of the Science of Logic; that of the Astrologer, one of the principal subdivisions of Mathematics; while the Physician's Art is amongst the branches of Natural Science. This book, therefore, comprises *Four Discourses*, to wit:—

First Discourse, on the essence of the Secretarial Art, and the nature of the Secretary.

Second Discourse, on the essence of the Poetic Art, and what it behoves the Poet to be.

Third Discourse, on the essence of the Science of Astrology, and the distinguishing signs of the Astrologer.

Fourth Discourse, on the essence of the Science of Medicine, and the function and nature of the Physician.

In all these divisions of Philosophy, then, that will be advanced which is appropriate to this book; and thereafter ten pleasing anecdotes, of the choicest connected with that subject and the rarest germane to that topic, of what hath befallen persons of the class under discussion, will be added, in order that it may become plainly known to the King that the Secretarial Office is not a trivial matter; that the Poetic Calling is no mean occupation; that Astrology is a necessary Science; that Medicine is indispensable; and that the wise King cannot do without these four persons—the Scribe, the Poet, the Astrologer, and the Physician.

First Discourse.

On the Essence of the Secretarial Function and the Nature of the Perfect Scribe.

The Secretarial Function is an art comprising reasoned modes of address and communication, and teaching the forms of address employed amongst men in correspondence, consultation, contention, eulogy, condemnation, diplomacy, provocation, and conciliation, as well as in magnifying

matters or minimizing them; contriving means of excuse or censure; imposing covenants; recording antecedents; and displaying, in every case, orderly arrangement, so that all may be enunciated primarily and finally.[1]

Hence the Secretary must be of gentle birth, of refined honour, of penetrating discernment, of profound reflection, and of firm judgement; and the amplest portion and fullest share of the methods and attainments of this art must be his. Neither must he be remote from, or unacquainted with, logical judgements; and he must know the ranks of his contemporaries, and be familiar with the dignities of the leading men of his time. Moreover, he should not be absorbed in the wealth and perishable goods of this world; nor concern himself with the approval or condemnation of prejudiced persons and tattlers, or pay any heed to them; and he should, when exercising his secretarial functions, guard the honour of his master from degrading situations and dangerous practices. And in the course of his letter, while pursuing his duties of correspondence, he should not quarrel with eminent and powerful personages; and, even though enmity subsist between his master and the person whom he is addressing, he should restrain his pen, and not attack him, save in the case of one who may have overstepped his own proper limit, or advanced his foot beyond the circle of respect, for they say: "*One for one,*[2] *and he who begins is most in the wrong.*"

And in his forms of address he should observe moderation, writing to each person that which befits his position, whereunto his kingdom, domain, army, and treasure are a guide; save in the case of one who may himself have fallen short in this matter, or made display of undue pride, or neglected some point of courtesy, or manifested an arrogance which reason cannot regard otherwise than as misplaced in such

[1] i.e. "once and for all," with such clearness as to leave no ambiguity, or ground for future dispute.

[2] واحدٌ بواحدٍ و البادى اظلم, i.e., "Tit for tat, and the aggressor is most to blame."

correspondence, and unsuitable in epistolary communications. In such cases it is permitted and allowed to the Scribe to take up his pen, set his best foot forward, and in this pass go to the extreme limit and utmost bound, for they say: "*Haughtiness towards the haughty is a good work.*"[1] But in no case must he suffer any dust from the atmosphere of conflict in this arena of correspondence to alight on the skirt of his master's honour; and in the setting forth of his message he must adopt that method which the orators of the Arabs have thus described: "*The best speech is that which is brief and significant, and not wearisome.*"[2] For if the ideas accord not with the words, the discussion will be protracted, and the Scribe will be stigmatized as prolix, and "*He who is prolix is a babbler.*"[3]

Now the words of the Scribe will not attain to this elevation until he becomes familiar with every science, obtains some hint from every master, hears some aphorism from every philosopher, and borrows some elegance from every man of letters. Therefore he must accustom himself to peruse the Scripture of the Lord of Glory, the Traditions of Muḥammad the Chosen One (on whom, and on whose family, be God's blessing and peace), the Memoirs of the Companions, the proverbial sayings of the Arabs, and the wise words of the Persians; and to read the books of the ancients, and to study the writings of their successors, such as the *Correspondence* of the Ṣáḥib Ismá'íl ibn 'Abbád[4] and Ṣábí; the *Qábús-náma*[5]; the compositions of Ḥamádí, Laqání, and Ibn Qudáma[6]; the *Gests* of Badí'u'z-Zamán

[1] التكبّر مع المتكبّر صدقة.

[2] خَيْر الكلام ما قلّ ودلّ ولم يُمَلّ.

[3] المكثار مهذار.

[4] See the *Yatímatu'd-Dahr* (ed. Damascus), vol. iii, pp. 31–112; De Slane's *Ibn Kallikán*, vol. i, pp. 212-217. L. omits "and Ṣábí."

[5] Composed by Kayká'ús b. Iskandar b. Qábús b. Washmgír in A.H. 475 (A.D. 1082–3). See Pertsch's *Cat. of Berlin Persian MSS.*, pp. 302–3.

[6] See Von Kremer's *Culturgesch.*, i, pp. 269, 270.

al-Hamadání,[1] al-Ḥaríri,[1] and al-Ḥamídí[2]; the *Rescripts* of al-Bal'amí,[3] Aḥmad-i-Ḥasan,[4] and Abú Naṣr Kunduri[5]; the *Letters* of Muḥammad 'Abd, 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd, and the Sayyidu'r-Ru'asá; the *Séances* of Muḥammad-i-Manṣúr,[6] Ibn 'Abbádí,[7] and Ibnu'n-Nassába, the descendant of 'Alí; and, of the poetical works of the Arabs, the *Díwáns* of Mutanabbí,[8] Abíwardí,[9] and Ghazzí[10]; and, amongst the Persian poets, the poems of Ḥakím Rúdagí,[11] the Epic of Firdawsí,[12] and the panegyrics of 'Unsurí[13]; since each one of these works which we have enumerated was, after its kind, the incomparable and unique product of its time; and every scribe who hath these books, and stimulates his mind, polishes his wit, and enkindles his fancy by their perusal, will ever raise the level of his diction, whereby a scribe becomes famous.

Now if he be well acquainted with the Qur'án, with one verse therefrom he may discharge his obligation to a whole realm, as did Iskáfí.[14]

[1] See Von Kremer's *Culturgesch.*, ii, pp. 470–476; Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, pp. 93–94 and 276–278.

[2] See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, vol. ii, pp. 747–8, where a very fine old MS. of the *Maqámát-i-Ḥamídí*, written in the thirteenth century of our era, is described.

[3] Abú 'Alí Muḥammad al-Bal'amí (d. A.H. 386).

[4] The Ghaznavid Minister, Aḥmad b. Ḥasan of Maymand (d. A.H. 424), is probably meant.

[5] See De Slane's *Ibn Khallikán*, vol. iii, pp. 290–295.

[6] Probably Muḥammad b. Manṣúr al-Ḥaddád. See *H. Kh.*, No. 1,729.

[7] Abú 'Ásim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-'Abbádí (see Rieu's *Arabic Suppl.*, p. 755), who died A.H. 458, is probably intended.

[8] See Von Kremer's *Culturgesch.*, ii, pp. 380, 381; Brockelmann's *Arab. Litt.*, pp. 86–89.

[9] See Brockelmann's *Arab. Litt.*, p. 253; and the *Yatíma*, vol. iv, pp. 25 and 62–64, where mention is made of two Abíwardís.

[10] Brockelmann, op. cit., p. 253. A., however, reads عزّى.

[11] See Ethé's monograph, and also his article on Rúdagí in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

[12] See especially Noeldeke's *D. Iranische Nationalepos* in vol. ii (pp. 130–211) of Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss d. Iranischen Philologie*.

[13] See Ethé in the same *Grundriss*, pp. 224, 225.

[14] Abu'l-Qásim 'Alí b. Muḥammad al-Iskáfí. See *Yatíma*, vol. iv, pp. 29–33; iii, 4.

Anecdote ii.

Iskáfí was one of the secretaries of the House of Sámán, and knew his craft right well, so that he could cunningly traverse all obstacles, and emerge triumphant from the most difficult passes. He discharged the duties of secretary in the Chancellery of Núḥ b. Mansúr,[1] but they did not properly recognize his worth, or bestow on him favours adequate to his pre-eminence. He therefore fled from Bukhárá to Alptagín at Herát. Alptagín, a Turk, wise and discerning, made much of him, and confided to him the Chancellery, so that at length he became one of his ministers. Now because there had sprung up at the court a new nobility who made light of the old nobles, while Alptagín patiently bore their presumption, matters at last culminated in rebellion, by reason of some slight put upon him. Then Amír Núḥ, incited by a party of the new nobles, wrote from Bukhárá to Zábulistán that Sabuktagín should come with that army, and the sons of Simjúr[2] with their army from Níshápúr, and should make war on Alptagín. And this war is very celebrated, and the event most notorious.

So when these armies reached Herát, the Amír 'Alí b. Muḥtáj[3] sent Kisá'í,[4] who was the Chief Chamberlain (*Ṣáḥibu'l-Báb*), to Alptagín, with a letter like fire and water blended together, containing threats and menaces which left no room for peace and no way for conciliation, such as an angry master might write in his absence to his disobedient

[1] This seems to be an error (though it stands thus in all three copies) for Mansúr b. Núḥ (Mansúr I), who reigned A.H. 350–366; for Núḥ b. Mansúr (Núḥ II) reigned A.H. 366–387, and Alptagín died in A.H. 352 or 354. Concerning the *Díwánu'r-Rasá'il*, see Von Kremer's *Culturgeschicht. d. Arab.*, i. pp. 174, 200; and A. de B. Kazimirski's *Menoutchehri*, pp. 36 and 43. According to Ibnu'l-Athír (Buláq ed. of A.H. 1303, vol. viii, p. 179), Alptagín's revolt took place in A.H. 351.

[2] See Defrémery's *Hist. des Samanides*, pp. 260, 261.

[3] Concerning this general, see Defrémery's *Hist. des Samanides*, p. 248.

[4] A. has الكشاى both here and in l. 4 of the next page, and in the second place adds *'Alí b. Muḥtáj* after *Abu'l-Ḥasan*.

servants, the whole letter filled with such expressions as "I will come," "I will take," "I will bind," "I will strike," "I will slay." When the Chamberlain Abu'l-Ḥasan Kisá'í submitted this letter and delivered the message, not withholding aught, Alptagín, who was already vexed, grew more vexed, and broke out in anger, saying: "I was his father's servant, but when my master passed from this transitory to that eternal abode, he entrusted him to me, not me to him. Although, to outward seeming, I should obey him, it is in fact quite otherwise, for when you examine this matter, a contrary conclusion results, seeing that I am in the last stages of old age, and he in the first stages of youth. Those who have impelled him to act thus are destroyers of this Dynasty, not counsellors, and are overthrowers of this house, not supporters."

Then he asked of Iskáfí, "How wilt thou answer this letter?" Iskáfí, on the spur of the moment, wrote the first draft of the answer as follows:—

"*In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Clement. O Núḥ, thou hast contended with us and made great the contention with us. Produce, then, that wherewith thou threatenest us, if thou art of those who speak truly.*" [1]

When this letter reached Núḥ b. Manṣúr, the Amír of Khurásán, he read it, and was astonished; and all the gentlemen of the court were filled with amaze, and the scribes bit their fingers in wonder. And when the affair of Alptagín was disposed of, Iskáfí fled away privily, for he was fearful and terrified; until suddenly Núḥ sent a messenger to him to summon him to his presence, and conferred on him the post of Secretary. So his affairs prospered, and he became conspicuous and famous amongst the votaries of the Pen. Had he not known the Qur'án, he would not thus have distinguished himself on this occasion, nor would his position have risen from the station he occupied to this high degree.

[1] Qur'án, xi, 34.

Anecdote iii.

When Iskáfí's affairs waxed thus prosperous, and he became established in the service of Núḥ b. Manṣúr, Mákán the son of Kákí[1] rebelled at Ray and in Kúhistán, withdrew his neck from the yoke of obedience, sent his agents to Khwár, Samnán and Simnak, captured several of the towns of Kúmish,[2] and paid no heed to the Sámánids. Núḥ b. Manṣúr was afraid, because this was a formidable and able man, and set himself to deal with this matter. He therefore ordered Tásh, the commander-in-chief, to march against him with seven thousand horsemen, suppress this sedition, and put an end to this grave incident in whatever way he deemed most expedient.

Now Tásh was very wise and clear in judgement, emerging swiftly and skilfully from the straitest passes; and he was also victorious in warfare, and had never turned back in defeat from any one of the countless battles he had waged, nor come forth worsted from any campaign. While he lived, the dominion and authority of the House of Sámán enjoyed the greatest brilliancy and prosperity.

On this occasion, then, the Amír, being much preoccupied and distressed, sent a messenger to summon Iskáfí, and held a private interview with him. "I am greatly troubled," said he, "by this occurrence; for Mákán is a brave man, and an able, and hath, in addition to his bravery and courage, administrative capacity and generosity, so that there have been few like him amongst the Daylamís. You must co-operate with Tásh, and whatever he lacks for the raising of an army at this juncture, you must supply.

[1] The chronological difficulties involved in these two stories are considerable, for the rebellion of Mákán b. Kákí occurred in A.H. 329, towards the end of the reign of Naṣr II b. Aḥmad, i.e. long before the rebellion of Alptagín (see n. 1 on p. 638, *supra*). See Defrémery's *Samanides*, pp. 248 and 263-4.

[2] Better known as *Qúmis*, the Arabicized form of the name. See B. de Meynard's *Dict. Géogr., Histor., et Litt. de la Perse*, pp. 464–5. For the three other towns mentioned, see the same work, pp. 213, 317, and 318.

And I will establish myself at Nísháp̀úr, so that the army may be supported from the base, and the foeman discouraged. Every day a swift messenger must come from you to me with dispatches, wherein you must set forth the pith of what may have happened, so that my anxieties may be assuaged." Iskáfí bowed and said, "I will obey."

So next day Tásh unfurled his standard, sounded his drums, and set out for the front from Bukhárá, crossing the Oxus with seven thousand horsemen; while the Amír followed him with the remainder of the army to Nísháp̀úr. There he invested Tásh and the army with robes of honour; and Tásh, raising his standard, marched into Bayhaq, whence he marched forwards into Kúmish to confront the enemy, with fixed purpose and in the best of spirits.

Meanwhile Mákán, with ten thousand mailed men, was encamped at the gates of Ray, where he had taken up his position. Tásh arrived, passed by the city, and encamped over against him. Then messengers passed to and fro between them, but no settlement was effected, for Mákán was puffed up with pride on account of that formidable army which he had gathered together from every quarter. It was therefore decided that they should join battle.

Now Tásh was an aged warrior, who for forty years had held the position of commander-in-chief, and had witnessed many such engagements; and he so manœuvred that when the two armies met, and the doughty warriors and champions of Transoxania and Khurásán moved forward from the centre, only half of Mákán's army was engaged, while the rest were not fighting. Mákán was slain, and Tásh, when he had ceased from taking and binding and slaying, turned to Iskáfí and said, "A carrier-pigeon must be sent in advance, to be followed later by a courier: but all the main features of the battle must be summed up in one sentence, which shall indicate all the circumstances, yet shall not exceed what a pigeon can carry, and shall adequately express our meaning."

Then Iskáfí took so much paper as two fingers would cover and wrote:—"*In the Name of God, the Merciful, the*

Clement. As for Mákán, he hath become as his name" [1] [*Má kán* = "He hath not been" in Arabic]. By this "*má*" he intended the negative, and by "*kán*," the verb substantive, so that the Persian of it would be, "Mákán hath become like his name," that is to say, hath become nothing.

When the carrier-pigeon reached the Amír Núḥ, he was not more delighted at the victory than at this dispatch, and he ordered Iskáfí's salary to be increased, saying: "Such a person must maintain a heart free from care in order to attain to such delicacies of expression." [2]

Anecdote iv.

One who pursues any craft which depends on reflection ought to be free from care and anxiety, for if it be otherwise, the arrows of his thought will fly wide and will not hit the target of achievement, since only by a tranquil mind can one arrive at such words.

It is related that a certain Secretary of the 'Abbásid Caliphs was writing a letter to the governor of Egypt; and, his mind being tranquil and himself submerged in the ocean of reflection, was forming sentences precious as pearls of great price and fluent as running water. Suddenly his maidservant entered, saying, "There is no flour left." The scribe was so put out and disturbed in mind that he lost the thread of his diction, and was so affected that he wrote in the letter "There is no flour left." When he had finished it, he sent it to the Caliph, having no knowledge of these words which he had written.

When the letter reached the Caliph, and he read it, and saw this sentence, he was greatly astonished, being unable to account for so strange an occurrence. So he sent a messenger to summon the scribe, and enquired of him

[1] امّا ماکان فصار کاسمه .

[2] The substance of this anecdote is given in the *Tárikh-i-Guzída*, and is cited by Defrémery at pp. 247–8 of his *Histoire des Samanides* (Paris, 1845).

concerning this. The scribe was covered with shame, and gave the true explanation of the matter. The Caliph was mightily astonished and said: "The beginning of this letter excels the latter part by as much as the súra '*Say, He is God, the One*'[1] excels the súra '*The hands of Abú Lahab shall perish*,'[2] and it is a pity to surrender the minds of eloquent men like you into the hands of the struggle for the necessaries of life." Then he ordered him to be given means sufficiently ample to prevent such an announcement as this from ever entering his ears again. Naturally it then happened that he could compress into two sentences the ideas of two worlds.

Anecdote v.

The Ṣáḥib Ismá'íl ibn 'Abbád,[3] entitled *al-Káfí* ("the Competent"), of Ray,[4] was minister to the Sháhansháh. He was most perfect in his accomplishments, of which fact his correspondence and his poetry are two sufficient witnesses and unimpeachable arbiters.

Now the Ṣáḥib was a man of just dealings, and such are wont to be extremely pious and scrupulous in their religious duties, not holding it right that a true believer should abide eternally in hell by reason of a grain of [righteous] enmity; and his servants and retainers and agents for the most part followed his example.

Now there was at Qum a judge appointed by the Ṣáḥib in whose godliness and piety he had the firmest belief, though there were some who asserted the contrary, and brought information against him, which, however, left the Ṣáḥib unconvinced, until certain trustworthy persons of Qum, whose statements commanded credence, declared that

[1] Qur'án, cxii.
[2] Qur'án, cxi.
[3] For an account of this great minister and generous patron of literature, see De Slane's translation of *Ibn Khallikán*, vol. i, pp. 212–217, and n. 4 on p. 636, *supra*.
[4] So B. Both A. and L. have الوادى.

in a certain suit between So-and-so and Such-an-one this judge had accepted a bribe of five hundred *túmáns*. This was mightily displeasing to the Ṣáḥib for two reasons, first on account of the greatness of the bribe, and secondly on account of the shameless unscrupulousness of the judge. He at once took up his pen and wrote:—

"*In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Clement. O Judge of Qum! We dismiss you, so Come!*"[1]

Scholars and rhetoricians will notice and appreciate the high merit of this sentence in respect of its brevity, concision, and clearness, and naturally from that time forth rhetoricians and stylists have inscribed this epigram on their hearts, and repeat it to the people of the world.

Anecdote vi.

Lamghán[2] is a city in the district of Sind, one of the dependencies of Ghazna; and at this present time naught but one range of mountains separates its inhabitants from the heathen, so that they live in constant dread of the attacks and raids of the unbelievers. Yet the men of Lamghán are of good courage, sharp and frugal, and combining with their sharpness no small rascality,[3] to such a degree that they think nothing of lodging a complaint against a tax-gatherer on account of a maund of chaff or a single egg; while for even less than this they were ready to come to Ghazna to complain of exactions, and would remain there one or two months, and then return without having accomplished their object. In short, they are wonderful hands at patience, and are most stiffnecked in importunity.

[1] بسم الله الرّحمن الرحيم ' ايّها القاضى بقمْ قد عزلناك فقُم '

I have endeavoured to preserve, feebly enough, the word-play in the original.

[2] Or Lámaghán. See B. de Meynard's *Dict. Géogr. de la Perse*, p. 503 Pavet de Courteille's *Mém. de Baber*, ii, pp. 120, 121.

[3] The texts differ considerably in this sentence. I follow A., which has:

امّا لمغانيان مردان بشكوه باشند و جلد و كسوب و با جلدى وعرى عظيم . . .

Now in the reign of Sulṭán Maḥmúd Yamínu'd-Dawla, the heathen one night attacked them, and damage of every sort befel them. But these were men who could raise a harvest without soil; and when this event happened several of their chiefs and men of note rose up and came to Ghazna, and, with their garments rent, their heads uncovered, and uttering loud lamentations, entered the bazaar of Ghazna, went to the King's Palace wailing and grieving, and so described their misfortune that even a stone would have been moved to tears. As their rascality, impudence, dissimulation, and cunning had not yet become apparent, that great minister, Aḥmad Ḥasan of Maymand,[1] took pity upon them, and forgave them that year's taxes, exempting them from all exactions, and bidding them return home, strive more strenuously, and spend less, so that by the beginning of the next year they might recover their former position.

So the deputation of Lamghánís returned with great contentment and huge satisfaction, and continued during that year in the easiest of circumstances, divulging their secret to no one.[2] When the year came to an end, the same deputation returned to present another petition to the minister, simply setting forth that in the past year their lord the great minister had brightened their country by his grace and clemency and had effectively extended to them his protection, so that they were now able to dwell in peace on that border; but that, since their prosperity was still somewhat shaken, they feared that, should he demand the contribution on their possessions that year, some of them would be utterly ruined, and that, as a consequence of this, loss might accrue to the royal coffers.

The minister, therefore, extending his favour, excused them the taxes of yet another year. During these two years the people of Lamghán grew rich, but this did not suffice them, for in the third year their greed reasserted

[1] See n. 4 on p. 25, *supra*.

[2] This I take to be the meaning of آب بکس ندادند.

itself, and, hoping again to be excused, the same deputation again appeared at Court and made a similar representation. Then it became apparent to all the world that the people of Lamghán were in the wrong. So the minister turned the petition over and wrote on the back of it: "*Al-kharáju khurájun, adá'uhu dawá'uhu*," that is to say, "*The tax is a running sore: its cure is its discharge.*" And from the time of this great statesman this saying has become proverbial, and has proved useful in many cases. May the earth rest lightly on this great man!

Anecdote vii.

There were great statesmen under the 'Abbásid dynasty, and indeed the history of the Barmecides is well known and famous, and to what extent were their gifts and rewards. [Ibn] Sahl, called *Dhu'r-Riyásatayn*[1] ("the lord of two commands"), and his brother Faḍl were exalted above the very heavens, so much so that Ma'mún espoused Faḍl's daughter and asked her in marriage. Now she was a damsel peerless in beauty and unrivalled in attainments; and it was agreed that Ma'mún should go to the bride's house and remain there for a month, and after the lapse of this period return home with the bride. On the day fixed for their departure he desired, as is customary, to array himself in better clothes. Now Ma'mún always wore black; and people supposed that he wore it because black was the distinctive colour of the 'Abbásids; till one day Yaḥyá b. Aktham[2] inquired of him, "Why is it that the Prince of Believers prefers black garments?" Ma'mún replied to the Judge: "Black garments are for man and for the living; for no woman is married in black, nor is any dead

[1] There appears to be a confusion here between the two brothers. Hasan ibn Sahl was the father of Púrán, al-Ma'mún's bride, while Faḍl bore the title of *Dhu'r-Riyásatayn*. See De Slane's *Ibn Khallikán*, vol. i, pp. 268–272 and 408–409; vol. ii, pp. 472–476. Also the *Laṭá'ifu'l-Ma'árif* of ath-Tha'álibí (ed. De Jong), pp. 73, 74, where a full account is given of this marriage.

[2] See De Slane's *Ibn Khallikán*, iv, pp. 33–51.

man buried in black." Yaḥyá was greatly surprised by this answer. So on this day Ma'mún desired to inspect the wardrobe; but of a thousand coats of satin, of royal fabric, of fur, hand-woven, of various colours, hand-cut, of fine black silk,[1] he neither approved nor accepted one, but clad himself in his customary black, and mounted, and turned his face towards the bride's house. Now on that day Faḍl had decked out his palace in such wise that the nobles were filled with wonder thereat, for he had collected so many rare things that words would fail to describe or enumerate them. So when Ma'mún reached the gate of this palace, he saw a curtain suspended, fairer than a Chinese spring, and more delightful than the assurance of faith, whereof the design charmed the heart and the colour mingled with the soul; and he said to himself: "Whichever of those thousand coats I had chosen, I should have been shamed here. Praise be to God and thanks that I was content with this black raiment."

Now of all the elaborate preparations made by Faḍl on that day, one was this, that when Ma'mún reached the middle of the palace yard, he saw a tray filled with wax, round which was arranged a pattern of pearls.[2] And at the feet of each guest were cast several nuts, in each of which was a piece of paper whereon was inscribed the name of a village; and whoever drew one, to him were delivered the title-deeds of that village.

So when Ma'mún entered the bride's house, he saw a mansion faced with gypsum and adorned with paintings,[3]

[1] The exact nature of most of these fabrics I have been unable to ascertain. The list runs as follows: اطلس و ملکی و تُمَم [A., B., طمیم] و نسیج و ممزّج و مقراضی و اکسون

[2] This sentence is not quite clear. It runs: پر [A., B. om. دید] طبقی کرده [L. om. بود] از موم بهیئت مروارید گرد کرده هریکی چند [A. چند] فندقی در پای او ریخت [L. ریختند].

[3] A., B. have مجصّص و منقّش. L. reads: مخصّص.

strewn with perfumes of China, fairer than the East at the time of sunrise, and sweeter than a garden in the season of the rose. He saw, moreover, cast down and spread out at the entrance of the house, mats of cloth of gold,[1] embroidered with rubies, pearls, and turquoises; and in like manner six cushions placed thereon, on which was seated a beauteous damsel sweeter than existence and life, and pleasanter than health and youth; in stature such that the noble cypress would have subscribed itself her servant; with cheeks which the brightest sun would have acknowledged as suzerain; with hair which was the envy of musk and ambergris; and with eyes after the likeness of the onyx and the narcissus.[2] She, rising to her feet, advanced towards Ma'mún, with a profound obeisance and earnest apologies, brought him forward and seated him in the chief seat, and stood before him in service. Ma'mún bade her be seated, whereupon she seated herself on her knees,[3] hanging her head and looking down at the carpet. Thereupon Ma'mún was overcome with love: he had already lost his heart, and now he would have added thereunto his very soul. He stretched out his hand and drew forth from the pocket of his coat eighteen pearls, each one as large as a sparrow's egg, brighter than the stars of heaven, more lustrous than the teeth of the fair, rounder, nay, more luminous, than Jupiter or Saturn. These rolled on the surface of the carpet, and, by reason of its smoothness and their roundness, continued in motion, there being no cause for their quiescence. But the girl paid no heed to the pearls, nor so much as raised her head. Thereat was Ma'mún's passion further increased, and he extended

[1] This sentence, again, is not clear. It runs:

. . و خانه واری حصیر از شوشهٔ زر کشیده افگنده.

[2] A., B: و چشم او از جسم جزع و عبهر بود. L. has: و چشمی چون چشم جذع و عبهر

[3] i.e., in the Persian fashion, on the heels, with the knees together in front.

his hand to caress her, and would have opened the door of amorous dalliance. But this caress aroused her modesty and covered her with confusion, and the delicate damsel was so affected that she was overtaken by that state peculiar to women, and the marks of shame and abashed modesty appeared in her cheeks and countenance, and she suddenly exclaimed: "*O Prince of Believers! The command of God cometh, seek not then to hasten it!*"[1]

Thereat Ma'mún withdrew his hand, and was near swooning on account of the extreme beauty of this citation, and her graceful application of it. Yet still he could not take his eyes off her, and for eighteen days he came not forth from this house and concerned himself with naught save two occupations. And the affairs of Fadl prospered, and he attained to that high position to which he attained.

Anecdote viii.

Again in the time of the 'Abbásid Caliphs, in the reign of al-Mustarshid bi'lláh[2] (may God make his tomb fragrant and exalt his rank in Paradise!), the son of al-Mustadhhir bi'lláh, the Prince of Believers came forth from the city of Baghdad with a well-equipped army in full panoply, and much treasure, and many muniments of war, marching against Khurásán, on account of a reparation which he would exact from the King of the World Sanjar.[3]

Now this quarrel had been contrived by interested persons, and was due to the machinations and representations of conspirators, who had brought matters to this pass. When the Caliph reached Kirmánsháh, he there delivered on a Friday a homily which in eloquence transcended the highest zenith of the sun, and reached the support and

[1] Qur'án, xvi, 1. Cf. De Slane's *Ibn Khallikán*, vol. i, p. 270.
[2] The twenty-ninth 'Abbásid Caliph, reigned A.H. 512–529.
[3] This happened in A.H. 529. See Houtsma's *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'Histoire des Seldjoucides*, vol. ii (1889), pp. 174–178.

crown of the guard-stars.[1] In the course of this harangue, after expressing his distress and despair, he complained of the House of Seljúq, in such wise that the orators of Arabia and the rhetoricians of Persia have confessed that, after the companions of the Prophet (God's blessing and peace rest on him and his family), who were the disciples of the Focus of the Prophetic Function and the expounders of his pithy aphorisms, no one had composed a discourse so weighty and eloquent. Said al-Mustarshid: "*We entrusted our affairs to the House of Seljúq, but they contended against us, and the time lengthened over them, and their hearts were hardened, and many of them sinned,*"[2] that is to say, withdrew their necks from our commands in the Religion of Islám.

Anecdote ix.

The Gúr Khán of Khitá fought a battle with the King of the World Sanjar, the son of Malikshán, at the gates of Samarqand, and so fateful was the day to the army of Islám that Transoxania passed into his power.[3] After putting to death the Imám of the East Ḥusámu'd-Dín (may God make bright his example, and extend over him His Peace!), the Gúr Khán bestowed Bukhárá on Alptagín.[4] When the Gúr Khán turned back, he entrusted the son of the Amír Bayánání,[5] the nephew of Atsiz Khwárazmsháh,

[1] *Farqadayn*, two bright stars near the Pole-star, β and γ of Ursa Minor. See vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*, p. 125, n. 2.

[2] وفّضنا أُمورَنا الى آل سلجوق فبرزوا علينا فطال عليهم الامد فقست قلوبهم و كثيرٌ منهم فاسقون

[3] See Mírkhwánd's *History of the Seljúqs*, ed. Vullers, pp. 176 181. Professor Ross has pointed out to me that Gúr Khán is a generic title. See *History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, by Elias and Ross, p. 287 et seqq. See also Schefer's *Chrestomathie Persane*, vol. i, p. 34 et seqq.

[4] So L., agreeing with Schefer, op. cit., p. 29, where A.H. 536 is given as the date of this event. For *Alptagín* A. and B. read اتمتكين throughout.

[5] L. has سامانى, A. بيابانى (uncertain); B. بيانانى, but I cannot identify the name.

to the Imám Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz, who was the Imám of Bukhárá, and the leading man of his time,[1] so that whatever he did he might do by his advice, and that he should not take any step without his instructions. Then the Gúr Khán turned back and retired to Bars-ján.[2]

Now his justice had no bounds, nor was there any limit to the effectiveness of his commands, and, indeed, in these two things lies the essence of kingship. But when Alptagín saw a clear field, he turned his hand to oppression, and began to levy contributions on Bukhárá. So several of the people of Bukhárá went as an embassy to the Gúr Khán[3] to seek redress. The Gúr Khán, after the way of good Muslims, wrote a letter in Persian to Alptagín as follows:—

"*In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Clement.* Let Alptagín know that, although wide distance separates us, our approval and displeasure are near at hand. Let Alptagín do that which Aḥmad commands, and Aḥmad that which Muḥammad commands. Farewell."

Again and again we have considered this and reflected on it. A thousand volumes or even more might be written to enlarge on this letter, yet its purport is extremely plain and clear, needing no explanation. Seldom have I seen anything like it.

Anecdote x.

The extreme eloquence of the Qur'án is in its concision of words and marvellous presentation of ideas; imitation thereof results but in citation, to such a degree that a sense

[1] For و پیشرَوِ زمان, A. and B. have و پسر برهان, "and the son of Burhán."

[2] Name uncertain. L. has *Zanján*, which is quite unsuitable; A., به برسجان (not clearly legible); B., برسیحان.

[3] A. has, instead of نزد گورخان (L.'s reading), سوی برسجان; B., سوی برسیحان.

of awe is produced, and the wise and understanding man is converted from his state [of doubt]. And this is a clear proof and trenchant argument to establish the fact that this Word did not proceed from the mouth of any created being, nor issue from any human lips or tongue, but that the stamp of Eternity is the stigma of its prescriptions and sentences.

It is related that one day one of the Muslims was reciting before Walíd b. Mughíra this verse:—"*And it was said, 'O Earth, gulp down thy waters, and O Heaven, draw them up': and the water abated. Thus was the matter effected. And it* [*i.e. the Ark*] *rested upon Mount Júdi.*"[1] "By God," said Walíd b. Mughíra, "verily it hath beauty and sweetness, and verily at its highest it is terrible as a wild beast in fury, and at its lowest is as the deepest mine!"[2] When even enemies reached such a level of enthusiasm, by reason of the eloquence of the Qur'án and its incomparable height in the domain of religion and equity, to what degree must friends attain?

Anecdote xi.

In former times it was customary with the kings and tyrants of the world, such as the Píshdádí, Kayání, and Sásánian monarchs and the Caliphs, to vaunt themselves and compete with one another in justice and accomplishments, and with every ambassador whom they despatched they used to send wise sayings, riddles, and enigmatical questions. So the king, under these circumstances, stood in need of persons of intelligence and discrimination, and men of judgement and statesmanship; and several councils

[1] Qur'án, xi, 46.

[2] L. has ان اعلاه متنمّر و انّ اسفله لمعدن. In the margin لمُغْدِق stands as a variant on لمعدن. A. and B. have لمعدق and لمثمر for متنمّر.

would be held and adjourned, until they were unanimous as to their answers, and when the inner meanings of these problems and enigmas were plain and apparent, then they would despatch the ambassador.

This practice was maintained until the time of Maḥmúd b. Sabuktagín Yamínu'd-Dawla (may God have mercy upon him!). One day he despatched an ambassador to Bughrá Khán in Transoxania, and in the letter which had been drafted occurred this passage:—"*God Almighty saith, 'Verily the most honourable of you in God's sight is he who is most pious of you.'*[1] The acute and critical are agreed that here he [i.e. the Prophet] guards himself from ignorance; for the souls of men are subject to no more grievous defect than this, nor is there aught lower than the fault of folly. To the truth of this proposition and the soundness of this assertion God's Word also bears witness: '[*God will raise up those of you who believe*] *and those to whom knowledge hath been given to* [*superior*] *degrees.*'[2] Therefore we desire that the Imáms of the land of Transoxania and the doctors of the East and scholars of the Kháqán's Court should give so much information touching essentials as to state what the Prophetic Office is, what Saintship, what Religion, what Islám, what Faith, what Well-doing, what Godliness, what the Approbation of Right, what the Prohibition of Wrong, what the Path, what the Balance, what Justice, and what Pity."

When this letter reached the Court of Bughrá Khán,[3] and he had acquainted himself with its purport and contents, he summoned the Imáms of Transoxania from the different towns and districts, informed them of the matter, and requested them to answer these words, bidding each one compose a treatise on this subject, and introduce in the course of their dissertation and argument a reply to these

[1] Qur'án, xlix, 13.

[2] Qur'án, lviii, 12.

[3] Here A. has غراخان and B. قراخان, though they agree with L. above and below.

interrogations. They craved a delay of four months; which period dragged on with all sorts of detriments, the least of which was the disbursements from the treasury for the salaries of the ambassadors and the maintenance of the Imáms, until at length Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'lláh the scribe, who was Bughrá Khán's private secretary, and was deeply versed in learning and highly distinguished in scholarship, besides being one of the most eloquent stylists amongst the Muslims both in prose and verse, said: "I will answer these questions in two words, in such wise that when the greatest scholars and most conspicuous men of al-Islám shall see my answer, it shall command their approval and admiration." So he took up his pen and wrote under the questions, after the fashion of a legal decision (*fatwá*): "*Saith God's Apostle* (*upon whom be the Blessing of God, and also on his Family*), '*Reverence for God's command and loving-kindness towards God's people.*'" All the Imáms of Transoxania bit their fingers in amazement and expressed their admiration, saying, "Here indeed is an answer which is perfect, and an utterance which is comprehensive!" And the Kháqán was mightily pleased because the difficulty had been overcome by a scribe and not left to the divines. And when the answer reached Ghazna, all applauded it.

It therefore results from these premises that an intelligent and accomplished Secretary is a great ornament to the brilliancy of a King's Court. And with this anecdote we conclude this chapter. And from God cometh assistance.

Second Discourse.

On the Nature of Poetry, and the Utility of the Skilful Poet.

Poetry is that art whereby the poet arranges imaginary propositions, and adapts the deductions, with the result that he can make a little thing appear great and a great thing small, or cause good to appear in the garb of evil and evil in the garb of good. By acting on the imagination,

he excites the faculties of anger and concupiscence in such a way that by his suggestion men's temperaments become affected with exultation or depression; whereby he conduces to the accomplishment of great things in the order of the world.

Anecdote xii.

Thus they relate that Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'lláh al-Khujistání[1] was asked, "How didst thou, who wert originally an ass-herd, become Amír of Khurásán?" He replied: "One day I was reading the Díván of Ḥandhala of Bádghís,[2] in Bádghís of Khujistán, when I chanced on these two couplets:—

بهتری گر بکام شیر درست ' شو خطر کن ز کام شیر بجوی '
یا بزرگی و ناز و نعمت و جاه ' یا چو مردانت مرگ رویاروی '

'If lordship lies within the lion's jaws,
Go, risk it, and from those dread portals seize
Such straight-confronting death as men desire,
Or riches, greatness, rank and lasting ease.'

An impulse stirred within me such that I could in no wise remain content with that condition wherein I was. I therefore sold my asses, bought a horse, and, quitting my country, entered the service of 'Amr b. Layth.[3] At that time the fortune of the Ṣaffárís still floated at the zenith of its prosperity. Of the three brothers, 'Alí was the youngest, and Ya'qúb and 'Amr had precedence over him.

[1] "Khujistan.—In the mountains near Herát. From this country issued Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'lláh al-Khujistání, who revolted at Níshápúr and died in A.H. 264." (Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. Géogr., Histor., et Litt. de la Perse*, p. 197.) The learned editor points out, however, that, according to Ibnu'l-Athír, Aḥmad was assassinated in the month of Shawwál, A.H. 268, after having reigned at Níshápúr for six years. See the *Journal Asiatique* for 1845, p. 345 et seqq. of the second half.

[2] See Ethé's *Rúdagí's Vorläufer und Zeitgenossen*, pp. 38–40, where these verses, and others by the same poet, are cited.

[3] Brother of Ya'qúb b. Layth, the founder of the short-lived Ṣaffárí dynasty. 'Amr reigned from A.H. 265 to A.H. 287.

When Ya'qúb came from Khurásán to Ghazna over the mountains, 'Alí b. Layth sent me back from *Ribát-i-Sangín* ("the Stone Rest-house") to act as his agent to his feudal estates in Khurásán. I had collected an army of a hundred on the road, and had with me besides some twenty horsemen of my own. Now of the estates held in fief by 'Alí b. Layth one was Karúkh[1] of Herát, a second Kháu-i-Nísháp úr. When I reached Karúkh, I produced my warrant, and what was paid to me I divided amongst the army and gave to the soldiers. My horsemen now numbered three hundred. When I reached Khwáf,[2] and again produced my warrant, the burghers of Khwáf contested it, saying, 'Do we want a magistrate with [a bodyguard of only] ten men?'[3] I thereupon decided to renounce my allegiance to the Saffárís, looted Khwáf, proceeded to the village of Yashb,[4] and came to Bayhaq, where two[5] thousand horsemen joined me. I advanced and took Nísháp úr, and my affairs prospered and improved until all Khurásán lay open to me, and I took possession of it for myself. Of all this, these two verses of poetry were the cause."

Salámí[6] relates in his history that the affairs of Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'lláh prospered so greatly that in one night at Nísháp úr he distributed in largesse 300,000 dínárs, 500 head of horses, and 1,000 suits of clothes, and to-day he

[1] See Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. Géogr., Hist., et Litt. de la Perse*, p. 487. B. and L. have "of Merv."

[2] Ibid., pp. 213, 214.

[3] The text and sense are both very doubtful. A. (f. 12*b*) has گفتند مارا شحنهٔ باید با ده تن, while the lithograph has گفتند که مارا خواجه با دیه باید.

[4] The MSS. have plainly بروستای یشب بیرون شدم, while the lithograph has و بشب بیرون شدم. I cannot, however, find mention of the village.

[5] The lithograph reads "a thousand."

[6] Concerning Ibn Salám, the author of a *Ṭabaqátu'sh-Shu'ará* (d. A.D. 845–6), who is probably intended, see J.R.A.S. for January, 1899, p. 48, footnote.

stands in history as one of the victorious monarchs, all of which was brought about by these two couplets of poetry. Many similar instances are to be found amongst both the Arabs and the Persians, but we have restricted ourselves to the mention of this one. So a king cannot dispense with a good poet, who shall conduce to the immortality of his name, and shall record his fame in *diwáns* and books. For when the king receives that command which none can escape,[1] no trace will remain of his army, his treasure, and his store; but his name will endure for ever by reason of the poet's verse, as Sharíf-i-Mujallidí of Gurgán says:—[2]

از آن چندان نعیم این جهانی ' که ماند از آل ساسان و آل سامان '
ثنای رودگی ماندست و مدحش ' نوای باربد ماندست و دستان '

"*From all the treasures hoarded by the Houses*
Of Sásán and of Sámán, in our days
Nothing survives except the song of Bárbad,
Nothing is left save Rúdagí's sweet lays."

The names of the monarchs of the age and the princes of the time are perpetuated by the admirable verse and widely-current poems of this guild; as, for instance, the names of the House of Sámán by Ustád Abú 'Abdi'lláh Ja'far b. Muḥammad *ar-Rúdakí*,[3] Abu'l-'Abbás b. 'Abbás[4] az-Zanjí, Abu'l-Mathal[5] al-Bukhárí, Abú Isḥaq Júybárí,[6] Abu'l-Ḥasan al-'Ají,[7] and Ṭaháwí, and Khabbází[8] of Níshápúr, and Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Kisá'í[9]; and the names of

[1] i.e., when he comes to die.

[2] B. omits the poet's name altogether. L. has *Majdi*.

[3] al-'Awfí's *Lubáb*, part ii, No. 7.

[4] Ibid., No. 8, and Horn's ed. of the *Lughat-i-Asadí*, p. 24, first paragraph. L. has رازی and A. (f. 12*b*) زنجنی.

[5] Ibid., No. 25, and Asadí, p. 28.

[6] Ibid., No. 10.

[7] The lithograph omits this name and the next; A. (f. 13*a*) has الاعجی, I suppose for العجیّ, "enfant nourri d'un lait étranger"; while B. has الاعجمی.

[8] 'Awfí, No. 29.

[9] See Ethé's monograph, *Die Lieder des Kisá'í*.

the kings of the House of Náṣiru'd-Dín [i.e. the Ghaznavids] by such men as 'Unṣurí, 'Asjadí, Farrukhí,[1] Bahrámí,[2] Zaynatí,[3] Buzurjmihr of Qá'in,[4] Mudhaffar,[5] Manshúrí,[6] Manúchihrí,[7] Mas'údí,[8] Qasárámí,[9] Abú Hanífa Iskáf ("the Cobbler"),[10] Ráshidí, Abu'l-Faraj of Rúna,[11] Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán,[12] Muḥammad Abú Naṣr,[13] Sháh Abú Rijá,[14] Aḥmad Khalaf, 'Uthmán Mukhtárí,[15] and Saná'í[16]; and the names of the House of Kháqán through Lúlú'í, Gulábí, Najibí,[17] Farkhárí,[18] 'Am'aq of Bukhárá,[19] Rashídí of Samarqand,[20] Najjár ("the Carpenter")[21] -i-Ságharjí, 'Alí Pánídí,[22] the son of Darghúsh,[23] 'Alí

[1] Well-known contemporaries of Firdawsí. Mention is made of the first and last (of whose poems lithographed editions have been published at Tihrán) further on.

[2] Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí of Sarakhs. See *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá*, vol. i, p. 173.

[3] Zaynatí-i-'Alaví-i-Maḥmúdí-i-Khurásání. See *M.F.*, vol. i, p. 241.

[4] Qásim b. Ibráhím b. Manṣúr. See *M.F.*, vol. i, p. 66.

[5] Or Mudhaffarí, of Panj-dih. See *M.F.*, vol. i, p. 505.

[6] Abú Sa'íd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad of Samarqand. See *M.F.*, vol. i, p. 506.

[7] See the edition of his *Díván* by A. de Biberstein Kazimirski.

[8] Mas'údí of Ray (see *M.F.*, i, p. 503), another Ghaznavid poet, is apparently intended.

[9] L. substitutes *Ghadá'irí*. For Qaṣárámí see Horn's *Asadí*, p. 27.

[10] Of Merv or Ghazna. See 'Awfí's *Lubáb*, ch. x, No. 21, and *M.F.*, vol. i, pp. 83–85.

[11] See *M.F.*, i, pp. 70–78.

[12] Abu'l-Fakhr Mas'úd b. Sa'd b. Salmán of Ghazna (died A.H. 515 or 525). See Horn's *Lughat-i-Furs* of Asadí, p. 28, and *M.F.*, i, p. 514.

[13] L. has Majd-i-Náṣir. I can find no particulars concerning him.

[14] See *M.F.*, i, pp. 68–70. He was of Ghazna, and also bore the *laqab* of Shihábu'd-Dín.

[15] See Dawlatsháh's *Tadhkira* (pp. 93, 94 of my forthcoming edition), Ṭabaqa ii, No. 8.

[16] A. adds "Mawjúd," an error for "Majdúd." See Dawlatsháh (pp. 95–99), Ṭabaqa ii, No. 9; *M.F.*, i, pp. 254–274.

[17] L. omits this name and the next. Najibu'd-Dín Jurbádhakání (i.e. of Gulpáyagán) is meant. See *M.F.*, i, pp. 634, 635.

[18] See Dawlatsháh (pp. 69, 70), Ṭabaqa i, No. 18.

[19] See Dawlatsháh (pp. 64–67), Ṭabaqa i, No. 15; *M.F.*, i, pp. 345–350.

[20] See Horn's *Asadí*, p. 18.

[21] See Anecdote xix, *infra*; and Horn's *Asadí*, p. 31.

[22] The second word is very uncertain. L. has تائیدی; A., تایندی, or تانیدی; B., تاییدی; but lower (Anecdote xix), A. has بانیدی (i.e. پانیدی, or پانیذی), which I take to be the correct form.

[23] L. omits. B. has درغوشی. In both MSS. the first word is written بسر, which may stand for بشر, or possibly the correct reading is *Bashshár-i Marghazí*. See *M.F.*, i, p. 171.

Sipihrí,[1] Jawharí,[2] Sa'dí, the son of Tísha,[3] and 'Alí Shaṭranjí ("the Chess-player")[4]; and the names of the House of Seljúq by Farrukhí, Karkhání, Lámi'í of Dahistán,[5] Ja'far of Hamadán, Fírúzí-i-Fakhrí,[6] Burhání,[7] Amír Mu'izzí, Abu'l-Ma'álí of Ray,[8] 'Amíd Kamálí,[9] and Shihábí[10]; and the names of the rulers of Ṭabaristán through Qumrí of Gurgán,[11] Ráfi'í of Níshápúr,[12] Kafáyatí[13] of Ganja, Kúsa Fálí, and Búrkala[14]; and the names of the kings of Ghúr, the House of Shansab (may God cause their rule to endure for ever!), through Abu'l-Qásim Rafí'í, Abú Bakr Jawharí, this least of mankind Nidhámí-i-'Arúḍí, and 'Alí Ṣúfí. The *díváns* of these poets are eloquent as to the excellence, comeliness, munitions and forces [of war], justice, bounty, worth, nobility, doughty deeds, judgement, statecraft, heaven-sent success and influence of these former kings, of whom to-day no trace remains, nor of their hosts and retinues any survivor. How many nobles there were under these dynasties who enjoyed the favours of kings, and dispensed untold largesses to these poets, and conferred on them sources of income, of whom to-day no trace remains; though many were the painted palaces and charming gardens which they created and embellished, but which to-day are

[1] See 'Awfí's *Lubáb*, ch. viii, No. 30; *M.F.*, i, pp. 244, 245; but the identity is uncertain.

[2] Called "the goldsmith" (*Zargar*). See Dawlatsháh (pp. 118–121), Ṭabaqa, ii, No. 18.

[3] Very doubtful. L. omits. A. has و بسر تیشه; B., و برسید.

[4] Noticed in ch. x of 'Awfí's *Lubáb*; *M.F.*, i, pp. 344, 345.

[5] *M.F.*, i, pp. 494–501.

[6] Both MSS. have و در فیروز فخری.

[7] The father of Mu'izzí. Both are mentioned in Anecdote xvi, *infra*.

[8] *M.F.*, i, pp. 79, 80.

[9] Kamálu'd-Dín 'Amíd of Bukhárá. See *M.F.*, i, pp. 486, 487.

[10] Shihábu'd-Dín Aḥmad b. Mu'ayyad of Nasaf, near Samarqand. *M.F.*, i, pp. 310, 311.

[11] *M.F.*, i, pp. 477, 478.

[12] *M.F.*, i, pp. 220, 221.

[13] L. has کعائی.

[14] L. has Qá'iní for Fálí, and omits Búrkala.

levelled with the ground and uniform with the deserts and ravines! Says the author :—

بسا کاخا که محمودش بنا کرد ،
که از رفعت همی با مه مرا کرد ،
نه بینی زآن همه یک خشت بر پای ،
مدیح عنصری ماندست بر جای ،

"How many a palace did great Mahmúd raise,
At whose tall towers the Moon did stand at gaze,
Whereof one brick remaineth not in place,
Though still re-echo 'Unṣurí's sweet lays."

When the Monarch of the World Sulṭán 'Alá'u'dunyá wa'd-Dín Abú 'Alí al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥusayn, the Choice of the Prince of Believers (may his life be long, and the umbrella of his dynasty victorious!) marched on Ghazna to avenge those two martyred kings and laudable monarchs,[1] whom Sulṭán Bahrámsháh had previously put to death after the fashion of common thieves, treating them with every indignity, and speaking lightly of them,[2] he sacked Ghazna, and destroyed the buildings raised by Maḥmúd, Mas'úd, and Ibráhím, but he bought with gold the poems written in their praise, and placed them in his library. In that army and in that city none dared call them king, yet he himself would read that *Sháhnáma* wherein Firdawsí says :—

[1] Quṭbu'd-Dín Muḥammad and Sayfu'd-Dín Súrí, both killed by Bahrámsháh the Ghaznavid, towards the middle of the sixth century of the Flight. From his devastation of Ghazna (A.H. 550, A.D. 1155–6) 'Alá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn the Ghúrid received the title of *Jahán-súz* ("the World-consumer").

[2] This sentence is obscure in the first portion. It runs as follows in A.:—
خداوند عالم .... بکین خواستن آن دو ملک شهید و پادشاه حمید [که L.] بغزنین رفت و سلطان بهرامشاه از پیش [او A.] برفت و در راه دزدان هر دورا شهید کردند و [که A.] استخفافها کرده بودند و گزافها گفته [و L.] غزنین‌را غارت کرد ....

چو کودک لب از شیر مادر بشست ' ز گهواره محمود گوید نخست '
جهاندار محمود شاه بزرگ ' بآبشخور آرد همی میش و گرگ '

" Of the child in its cot, ere its lips yet are dry
From the milk of its mother, 'Maḥmúd!' is the cry!
Maḥmúd, the Great King, who such order doth keep
That in peace from one pool drink the wolf and the sheep!"

All wise men know that herein was no reverence for Maḥmúd, but only admiration for Firdawsí and his verse. Had Maḥmúd understood this, he would probably not have left that noble man disappointed and despairing.

Excursus.

Now the poet must be of tender temperament, profound in thought, sound in genius, clear of vision, quick of insight. He must be well versed in many divers sciences, and quick to extract what is best from his environment; for as poetry is of advantage in every science, so is every science of advantage in poetry. And the poet must be of pleasing conversation in social gatherings, of cheerful countenance on festive occasions; and his verse must have attained to such a level that it is written on the page of Time and celebrated on the lips and tongues of the noble, and be such that they transcribe it in books and recite it in cities. For the richest portion and most excellent part of poetry is immortal fame, and until it be thus confirmed and published it is ineffectual to this end, and this result cannot accrue from it; it will not survive its author, and, being ineffectual for the immortalizing of his name, how can it confer immortality on another?

But to this rank a poet cannot attain unless in the prime of his life and the season of his youth he commits to memory

20,000 couplets of the poetry of the Ancients and 10,000 verses of the works of the Moderns, holds them constantly before his eyes, and continually reads and marks the *dìwáns* of the masters of his art, observing how they have acquitted themselves in the strait passes and delicate places of song, in order that thus the fashion and varieties of verse may become ingrained in his nature, and the defects and beauties of poetry may be inscribed on the tablet of his understanding. In this way his style will improve and his genius will develop. Then, when his taste has been formed by wide reading of poetry, and his style of expression is thus strengthened, let him address himself seriously to the poetic art, study the science of Prosody, and peruse the works of Master Abu'l-Ḥasan Bahrámí of Sarakhs, such as the "Goal of Prosodists" (*Gháyatu'l-'Arúḍiyyín*), the "Thesaurus of Rhyme" (*Kanzu'l-Qáfiya*), and the works treating of poetic ideas and phraseology, plagiarisms, biographies, and all the sciences of this class, with such a master as he deemeth best, that thus he in turn may come to merit the title of Master, that his name may remain on the page of time like the names of those other Masters which we have mentioned, and that he may be able to discharge his debt to his patron and lord for what he obtains from him, so that his name may endure for ever.

Now it behoves the King to patronize such a person, so that he may remain in his service and celebrate his praise. But if he fall below this level, he should waste no money on him and pay no heed to his poetry, especially if he be old; for I have investigated this matter, and in the whole world have found nothing worse than an old poet, nor any money more ill spent than what is given to such. For one so ignoble as not to have discovered in fifty years that what he writes is bad, when will he discover it? But if he be young and has the right talent, even though his verse be not good, there is some hope that it may improve, and according to the Law of Chivalry it is proper to patronize him, a duty to take care of him, and an obligation to maintain him.

Now in the service of kings naught is better than improvisation, for thereby the king's mood is cheered, his receptions are made brilliant, and the poet himself attains his object. Such favours as Rúdagí obtained from the House of Sámán by his improvisations and by virtue of his verse, none other hath experienced.

Anecdote xiii.

They relate thus, that Naṣr b. Aḥmad, who was the central point of the Sámánid group, whose fortunes reached their zenith during the days of his rule, was most plenteously equipped with every means of enjoyment and material of splendour — well-filled treasuries, an efficient army, and loyal servants. In winter he used to reside at Bukhárá, his capital, while in summer he used to go to Samarqand or some other of the cities of Khurásán. Now one year it was the turn of Herát. He spent the spring at Bádghís, where are the most charming pasture-grounds of Khurásán and 'Iráq, for there are nearly a thousand watercourses abounding in water and pasture, any one of which would suffice for an army.

When the beasts had well eaten, and had regained their strength and condition, and were fit for warfare or to take the field, Naṣr b. Aḥmad turned his face towards Herát, but halted outside the city of Marghazár-i-Sapíd and there pitched his camp. Cool breezes from the north were stirring, and the fruit was ripening in the districts of Málin and Karúkh[1]—fruit which can be obtained in but few places, and nowhere so cheaply. There the army rested. The climate was charming, the breeze cool, food plentiful, fruit abundant, and the air filled with fragrant scents, so that the soldiers enjoyed their life to the full during the spring and summer.

[1] See Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, pp. 487, 511–512, according to which the former village is distant from Herát two parasangs, the latter ten.

When Mihrgán[1] arrived, and the juice of the grape came into season, and the eglantine, basil, and yellow rocket were in bloom, they did full justice to the charms of autumn, and took their fill of the pleasures of that season. Mihrgán was protracted, for the cold did not wax severe, and the grapes proved to be of exceptional sweetness. For in the district of Herát one hundred and twenty different varieties of the grape occur, each sweeter and more delicious than the other; and amongst them are in particular two kinds which are not to be found in any other region of the inhabited world, one called *Tarniyán*[2] and the other *Gulchídí*,[3] tight-skinned, slender-cored, and luscious, so that you would surely say they were [flavoured with] cinnamon.[4] A cluster of Gulchídí grapes sometimes attains a weight of five maunds; they are black as pitch and sweet as sugar, nor can one eat many for the sweetness that is in them. And besides these there were all sorts of other delicious fruits.

So the Amír Naṣr b. Aḥmad saw Mihrgán and its fruits, and was mightily pleased therewith. Then the narcissus began to bloom, and the raisins were plucked and stoned in Málin, and hung up on lines, and packed in chests; and the Amír with his army moved into the two groups of hamlets called Ghúra and Darwáz. There he saw mansions of which each one was like highest paradise, having before it a garden or pleasure-ground with a northern aspect. There they wintered, while the Mandarin oranges began

[1] The festival of the autumnal equinox, which fell in the old Persian month of Mihr.

[2] So L. B. has ترتیان, A. برنیان. The usual meaning of the word appears to be a sieve or basket made of osiers. See Horn's *Asadí*, p. 99, l. 1; Salemann's *Shams i Fachrí Lexicon*, p. 96, l. 13, and note *ad calc.*

[3] The reading is very uncertain. A. has کلجدی, L. کلنجدی.

[4] Here also the reading is uncertain. I follow A., which seems to read: گوئی که درآن دار صینی هستی ' . والبتّه گوئی که در [آن] ارضی نسست ' L. has:

to arrive from Sístán and the sweet oranges from Mázandarán; and so they passed the winter in the most agreeable manner.

When [the second] spring came, the Amír sent the horses to Bádghís and moved his camp to Málin [to a spot] between two streams. And when summer came, the fruits again ripened; and when Mihrgán came, he said, "Let us enjoy Mihrgán at Herát"; and so from season to season he continued to procrastinate, until four years had passed in this way. For it was then the heyday of the Sámánian prosperity, and the land was flourishing, the kingdom unmenaced by foes, the army loyal, fortune favourable, and heaven auspicious; yet withal the Amir's attendants grew weary, and desire for home arose within them, while they beheld the King quiescent, the air of Herát in his head and the love of Herát in his heart; and in the course of conversation he would declare that he preferred Herát to the Garden of Eden, and would set its charms above those of the springtide of Beauty.[1]

So they perceived that he intended to remain there for that summer also. Then the captains of the army and courtiers of the King went to Abú 'Abdu'lláh Rúdagí,[2] than whom there was none more honoured of the King's intimates, and none whose words found so ready an acceptance. And they said to him: "We will present thee with five thousand dínárs if thou wilt contrive some artifice whereby the King may be induced to depart hence, for our hearts are dying for desire of our wives and children, and our souls are like to leave us for longing after Bukhárá." Rúdagí agreed; and since he had felt the Amír's pulse and understood his temper, he perceived that prose would not affect him, and so had recourse to verse.

[1] So A., which reads بهار حسن; while L. has بهار چین, "a Chinese spring."

[2] See Ethé's excellent monograph, and his article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; also p. 62 of the Journal for January, 1899.

He therefore composed a *qaṣída*; and, when the Amír had taken his morning cup, came in and did obeisance, and sat down in his place; and, when the musicians ceased, he took up the harp, and, playing the "Lover's air," began this elegy:—[1]

بوی جوی مولیان آید همی ' بوی یار مهربان آید همی '

"The Jú-yi-Múliyán we call to mind,
We long for those dear friends long left behind."

Then he strikes a lower key, and sings:—

ریگ آمو و درشتی راه او ' زیر پایم پرنیان آید همی '
آب جیحون از نشاط روی دوست ' خنگ مارا تا میان آید همی '
ای بخارا شاد باش و دیر زی ' میر زی تو شادمان آید همی '
میر ماهست و بخارا آسمان ' ماه سوی آسمان آید همی '
میر سروست و بخارا بوستان ' سرو سوی بوستان آید همی '

"The sands of Oxus, toilsome though they be,
Beneath my feet were soft as silk to me.
Glad at the friend's return, the Oxus deep
Up to our girths in laughing waves shall leap.
Long live Bukhárá! Be thou of good cheer!
Joyous towards thee hasteth our Amír!
The Moon's the Prince, Bukhárá is the sky;
O Sky, the Moon shall light thee by and bye!
Bukhárá is the mead, the Cypress he;
Receive at last, O Mead, thy Cypress-tree!"

[1] This poem is very well known, being cited in almost all notices of Rúdagi's life (e.g. by Dawlatsháh), in Forbes' *Persian Grammar*, pp. ff., 2, 161–163, and in Blochmann's *Prosody of the Persians*, pp. 2–3.

When Rúdagí reached this verse, the Amír was so much affected that he descended from his throne, bestrode the horse which was on sentry-duty,[1] and set off for Bukhárá so precipitately that they carried his riding-boots after him for two parasangs, as far as Burúna,[2] and only then did he put them on; nor did he draw rein anywhere till he reached Bukhárá, and Rúdagí received from the army the double of that five thousand dínárs.

At Samarqand, in the year A.H. 504 (= A.D. 1110–1111), I heard from the Dihqán Abú Rijá Aḥmad b. 'Abdu's-Ṣamad al-'Ábidí as follows:—"My grandfather, the Dihqán Abú Rijá, related that [on this occasion] when Rúdagí reached Samarqand, he had four hundred camels laden with his wealth." And, indeed, that illustrious man was worthy of this splendid equipment, for no one has yet produced a successful imitation of that elegy, nor found means to surmount triumphantly the difficulties [which the subject presents]. Thus the Poet-laureate Mu'izzí was one of the sweetest singers and most graceful wits in Persia, and his poetry reaches the highest level in freshness and sweetness, and excels in fluency and charm. Zaynu'l-Mulk Abú Sa'd [b.] Hindú b. Muḥammad b. Hindú of Isfahán[3] requested him to compose an imitation of this *qaṣída*, and Mu'izzí, unable to plead his inability so to do, wrote:—

رستم از مازندران آید همی ' زین ملک از اصفهان آید همی '

"Now advanceth Rustam from Mázandarán,
Now advanceth Zayn-i-Mulk from Isfahán."

[1] *Khíng-i-nawbatí.* To provide against any sudden emergency, a horse, ready saddled and bridled, was kept always at the gate of the King's palace, and it is this 'sentry-horse' to which reference is here made.

[2] L. has بابرونه, and in a marginal note explains *burúna* as meaning turban or handkerchief; but A. has بهبرونه, and I suspect that it is really a place-name. Cf. Sachau's remarks on the derivation of al-Bírúní's name at p. 7 of his translation of the *Chronology of Ancient Nations.*

[3] See Houtsma's ed. of al-Bundárí's *History of the Seljúqs*, pp. 93, 101, 105.

All wise men will perceive how great is the difference between this poetry and that; for who can sing with such sweetness as does Rúdagí when he says :—

آفرین و مدح سود آید همی ' گر بگنج اندر زیان آید همی '

" Surely are renown and praise a lasting gain,
Even though the royal coffers loss sustain ! "

For in this couplet are seven admirable touches of art: first, the verse is apposite; secondly, antithetical; thirdly, it has a refrain; fourthly, it embodies an enunciation of equivalence; fifthly, it has sweetness; sixthly, style; seventhly, energy. Every master of the craft, who has deeply considered the poetic art, will admit, after a little reflection, that I am right.

Anecdote xiv.

The love borne by Maḥmúd Yamínu'd-Dawla to Ayáz the Turk is well known and famous. It is related that Ayáz was not remarkably handsome, but had several good points. Of sweet expression and olive complexion, symmetrically formed, graceful in his movements, sensible and deliberate in action, he was mightily endowed with all the arts of courtiership, in which respect, indeed, he had few rivals in his time. Now these are all qualities which excite love and give permanence to friendship.

Now Maḥmúd was a pious and God-fearing man, and he wrestled with his love for Ayáz so that he did not diverge by so much as a single step from the Path of the Law and the Way of Chivalry. One night, however, at a carousal, when the wine had begun to affect him and love to stir within him, he looked at the curls of Ayáz, and saw, as it were, ambergris rolling over the face of the moon, hyacinths twisted about the visage of the sun, ringlet upon

ringlet like a coat of mail; link upon link like a chain; in every ringlet a thousand hearts and under every lock a hundred thousand souls. Thereupon love plucked the reins of self-restraint from the hands of his endurance, and lover-like he drew him to himself. But the watchman of "*Hath not God forbidden you to transgress against Him?*" thrust forth his head from the collar of the Law, stood before Maḥmúd, and said: "O Maḥmúd, mingle not sin with love, nor mix the false with the true, for such a slip will raise the Realm of Love in revolt against thee, and thou wilt fall like thy first father from Love's Paradise, and remain afflicted in the world of Sin." The ear of his fortunate nature being quick to hear, he hearkened to this announcement, and the tongue of his faith cried from his innermost soul, "*We believe and we affirm.*" Then, again, he feared lest the army of his self-control might be unable to withstand the evolutions of the locks of Ayáz, so, drawing a knife, he placed it in the hands of Ayáz, bidding him take it and cut off his curls. Ayáz took the knife from his hands with an obeisance, and, having enquired where he should cut them, was bidden to cut them in the middle. He therefore doubled back his locks to get the measurement, executed the King's command, and laid the two tresses before Maḥmúd. It is said that this ready obedience became a fresh cause of love; and Maḥmúd called for gold and jewels and gave to Ayáz beyond his usual custom and ordinary practice, after which he fell into a drunken sleep.

When the morning breeze blew upon him, and he arose from sleep to ascend the Royal Throne, he remembered what he had done. He summoned Ayáz and saw the clipped tresses. The army of remorse invaded his heart, and the peevish headache born of wine settled on his brain. He kept rising up and sitting down aimlessly, and none of the courtiers or men of rank dared to address to him any enquiry, until at length Ḥájib 'Alí Qaríb, who was the Chief Chamberlain, turned to 'Unṣurí and said, "Go, show thyself to him." So 'Unṣurí came in and did obeisance.

Maḥmúd raised his head and said: "I was just thinking of you. You see what has happened: say something on this subject." 'Unṣurí said:—

گر عیب سر زلف بت از کاستن است ‘
چه جای بغم نشستن و خاستن است ‘
جای طرب و نشاط و می خواستن است ‘
کآراستن سرو ز پیراستن است ‘

"Though shame it be a fair one's curls to shear,
Why rise in wrath or sit in sorrow here?
Rather rejoice, make merry, call for wine;
When clipped the cypress doth most trim appear."

Maḥmúd was highly pleased with this quatrain, and bade them bring gold and silver, which he mixed together, and therewith thrice filled the poet's lap. Then he summoned the minstrels before him, and drank wine to [the accompaniment of] those two verses whereby his melancholy had been dissipated, and recovered the equability of his temper.

Anecdote XV.

Now you must know that improvisation is the chief pillar of the Poetic Art; and it is incumbent on the poet to train his talents to such a point as to be able to improvise on any subject, for thus is money extracted from the treasury, and thus can the king be made acquainted with any matter which arises. All this is necessary to please the heart of one's patron and the humour of him who is the subject of one's eulogies; and whatever poets have earned in the way of great rewards has been earned by improvisations and poems inspired by the occasion.

Farrukhí was a native of Sístán, and was the son of Júlúgh,[1] the servant of Amír Khalaf.[2] He was possessed

[1] So A., but B. and L. read جولوغ, while *M.F.* has قلوغ.

[2] See Defrémery's *Histoire des Samanides*, p. 265.

of good talents, composed pleasing verses, and was a skilful performer on the harp; and he was retained in the service of one of the dihqáns of Sístán, who gave him a yearly allowance of two hundred measures of corn, each containing five maunds, and a hundred dirhams in silver coinage of Núḥ [which amply sufficed for his needs].[1] But he desired to marry a woman of Khalaf's clientage, whereby his expenses were increased, and the baskets and trays were multiplied,[2] so that Farrukhí remained without sufficient provision, nor was there in Sístán anyone else save[3] their amírs. He therefore appealed to the Dihqán, saying: "My expenses have been increased; how would it be if the Dihqán should make my allowance of corn three hundred maunds, and raise my salary by five hundred dirhams, so that my means may perhaps become equal to my expenditure?" The Dihqán wrote on the back of the appeal: "So much shall not be refused you, but there is no possibility of any further increase."

So Farrukhí was in despair, and made enquiries of such as arrived and passed by to hear of some patron in some region or part of the world who might look upon him with favour, so that he might chance on a success; until at length they informed him that the Amír Abu'l-Mudhaffar Chighání in Chighániyán[4] was a munificent patron of this class, conferring on them splendid presents and rewards, and was at that period conspicuous in this respect amongst the kings of the age and nobles of the time. On the subject of this choice Farrukhí says:—

با کاروان حلّه برفتم ز سیستان ' با حُلّهٔ تنیده ز دل بافته ز جان '

[1] The words و اورا تمام بودی are omitted by L.

[2] A. و دَبَه و زنبیل افزود '.

[3] L. has از for مگر, so that the sense would then be "anyone of their amírs."

[4] Or, in its Arabicized form, *Ṣighániyán*, a place in Transoxania, near Tirmidh and Qubádhiyán. See De Goeje's *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, where it is mentioned repeatedly.

"*In a caravan of merchandise from Sistán did I start,*
With fabrics spun within my brain and woven by my heart."

In truth it is a fine elegy that he composed on the Poetic Art, incomparable in the beauty of its eulogies.

So Farrúkhí, having furnished himself with what was necessary for the journey, set out for Chighániyán. Now Abu'l-Mudhaffar had 18,000 mares, roadsters,[1] each one of which was followed by its colt. And every year the Amír used to go out to brand the mares, and at this moment he happened to be at the place where the branding was done; while 'Amíd As'ad, who was his steward, was at the capital preparing provisions to be conveyed to the Amír. To him Farrukhí went, and recited a *qaṣída*, and submitted to him the poetry he had composed for the Amír.

Now 'Amíd As'ad was a man of parts and a poet, and in Farrukhí's verse he recognized poetry at once fresh, sweet, pleasing, and masterly, while seeing the man himself to be ill-proportioned, clothed in a torn jubba worn anyhow,[2] with a huge turban on his head after the manner of the Sagzís, of the most unprepossessing appearance from head to foot; and this poetry, withal, in the seventh heaven. He could not believe that it had been composed by this Sagzí, and, to prove him, said: "The Amír is at the branding-ground, whither I go to wait upon him; and thither I will take thee also, for it is a mighty pleasant spot—

جهانی در جهانی سبزه بینی '

'*World within world of verdure wilt thou see*'—

full of tents and lamps like stars, and from each tent come the songs of Rúdagí, and friends sit together, drinking wine and making merry, while before the Amír's pavilion a great fire is kindled, in size like unto several mountains,

[1] The word is راهی, explained in the margin of L. as meaning گردنده و دونده '

[2] *Pish u pas.*

whereat they brand the colts. And the King, with the goblet in one hand and the lassoo in the other, drinks wine and gives away horses. Compose, now, a *qaṣída*, describing the branding-ground, so that I may take thee before the Amír."

That night Farrukhí went and composed the following *qaṣída*, which he brought before 'Amíd:—[1]

چون پرند نیلگون بر روی پوشد مرغزار
پرنیان هفت رنگ اندر سر آرد کوهسار
خاک را چون ناف آهو مشک زاید بیقیاس
بیدرا چون پرّ طوطی برگ روید بیشمار
دوش وقت نیم شب بوی بهار آورد باد
حبّذا باد شمال و خرّما بوی بهار
باد گوئی مشک سوده دارد اندر آستین
باغ گوئی لعبتان جلوه دارد در کنار
نسترن لولوی بیضا دارد اندر مرسله[2]
ارغوان لعل بدخشی دارد اندر گوشوار
تا بر آمد جامهای سرخ مل بر شاخ گل
پنجه‌ها چون دست مردم سر فرو کرد از چنار
باغ بو قلمون لباس و شاخ بو قلمون نمای
آب مروارید گون و ابر مروارید بار

[1] See pp. 114–117 of the lithographed edition of Farrukhí's works published at Ṭihrán for Mírzá Mahdí Khán *Badáyi'-nigár*, poetically surnamed Mukhliṣ, in A.H. 1301. Of the 52 bayts there given, only 22 are cited in the *Chahár Maqála*. The poem is also given by Dawlatsháh (pp. 55–57 of my forthcoming edition). Only a few of the more important variants are noticed here.

[2] A gloss in the lithographed Ṭihrán edition explains this word as meaning 'necklace' (گردن بند).

راست پنداری که خلعتهای رنگین یافتند ،
باغهای پر نگار از داغگاه شهریار ،
داغگاه شهریار اکنون چنان خرّم شود ،
کاندرو از خرّمی خیره بماند روزگار ،
سبزه اندر سبزه بینی چون سپهر اندر سپهر ،
خیمه اندر خیمه بینی چون حصار اندر حصار ،
سبزه ها پربانگ چنگ و مطربان چرب دست ،
خیمه‌ها با بانگ نوش و ساقیان میگسار ،
هرکجا خیمه است خفته عاشقی با دوست مست ،
هرکجا سبزه است شادان یاری از دیدار یار ،
عاشقان بوس و کنار و نیکوان ناز و عتاب ،
مطربان رود و سرود و خفتگان خواب و خمار ،
بر در پرده سرای خسرو پیروز بخت ،
از پی داغ آتشی افروخته خورشید وار ،
بر کشیده آتشی چون مطرد دیبای زرد ،
گرم چون طبع جوان و زرد چون زرّ عیار ،
داغها چون شاخهای بسّد یاقوت رنگ ،
هر یکی چون ناردانه گشته اندر زیر نار ،
بردگان[1] خواب نا دیده مصاف اندر مصاف ،
مرکبان داغ نا کرده قطار اندر قطار ،
خسرو فرّخ سیر بر بارهٔ دریا گذر ،
با کمند اندر میان دشت چون اسفندیار ،

[1] L. has ریدگان glossed in the margin as 'slave-boys' (غلام بچگان). The Ṭihrán ed. has دیدگان, 'eyes.'

همچو زلف دلبران خورد سالـه تاب خورد ‘
همچـو عـهـد دوسـتـان سـالخورده اسـتـوار ‘
میر عادل[1] بـو المظفّـر شـاه بـا پیوستگان ‘
شـهـریـار شیرگـیـر و پـادشـاه شـهـردار[2] ‘
ازدها کردار پـیچـان در کـف رادش کمند ‘
چون عصای موسوی در دست موسی گشته مار ‘
هـر کـرا انـدر کمند شصت یازی در فگند ‘
گشت نامش[3] بر سرین و شانه و رویش نگار ‘
هرچه زین سو داغ کرد از سوی دیگر میدهد[4] ‘
شاعران‌را بـا لـگـام و زایـران‌را بـا فـسـار ‘

"*Since the meadow hides its face in satin shot with greens and blues,*
And the mountains wrap their brows in silken veils of seven hues,
Earth is teeming like the musk-pod with aromas rich and rare,
Foliage bright as parrot's plumage doth the graceful willow wear.
Yestere'en the midnight breezes brought the tidings of the spring:
Welcome, O ye northern gales, for this glad promise which ye bring!
Up its sleeve the wind, meseemeth, pounded musk hath stored away,
While the garden fills its lap with shining dolls, as though for play.

[1] L. substitutes '*Fakhr-i-Dawlat.*'

[2] The Ṭihrán ed. has: ‘شادمان و شادخوار و کامران و کامکار’.

[3] So A. L. has دابش.

[4] So A. and L. The ed. has ‘هدیه داد’.

On the branches of syringa necklaces of pearls we see,
Ruby earrings of Badakshán sparkle on the Judas-tree.
Since the branches of the rose-bush carmine cups and beakers bore
Human-like five-fingered hands reach downwards from the sycamore.
Gardens all chameleon-coated, branches with chameleon whorls,
Pearly-lustrous pools around us, clouds above us raining pearls!
On the gleaming plain this coat of many colours doth appear
Like a robe of honour granted in the court of our Amír.
For our Prince's Camp of Branding stirreth in these joyful days,
So that all this age of ours in joyful wonder stands agaze.
Green within the green you see, like skies within the firmament;
Like a fort within a fortress spreads the army, tent on tent.
Every tent contains a lover resting in his sweetheart's arms,
Every patch of grass revealeth to a friend a favourite's charms.
Harps are sounding 'midst the verdure, minstrels sing their lays divine,
Tents resound with clink of glasses as the pages pour the wine.
Kisses, claspings from the lovers; coy reproaches from the fair;
Wine-born slumbers for the sleepers, while the minstrels wake the air.
Branding fires, like suns ablaze, are kindled at the spacious gate
Leading to the State-pavilion of our Prince so fortunate.
Leap the flames like gleaming lances draped with yellow-lined brocade,
Hotter than a young man's temper, yellower than gold assayed.
Branding tools like coral branches ruby-tinted glow amain
In the fire, as in the ripe pomegranate glows the crimson grain.
Rank on rank of active boys, whose watchful eyes no slumber know;
Steeds which still await the branding, rank on rank and row on row.
On his horse, the river-forder, roams our genial Prince afar,
Ready to his hand the lassoo, like a young Isfandiyár.
Like the locks of pretty children see it how it curls and bends,
Yet be sure its hold is stronger than the covenant of friends.

Bu'l-Muẓhaffar Shah the Just, surrounded by a noble band,
King and conqueror of cities, brave defender of the land.
Serpent-coiled in skilful hands fresh forms his whirling noose doth take,
Like unto the rod of Moses metamorphosed to a snake.
Whosoever hath been captured by that noose and circling line,
On the face and flank and shoulder ever bears the Royal sign.
But, though on one side he brands, he giveth also rich rewards,
Leads his poets with a bridle, binds his guests as though with cords."

When 'Amíd As'ad heard this elegy, he was overwhelmed with amazement, for never had the like of it reached his ears. He put aside all his business, mounted Farrukhí on a horse, and set out for the Amír, whose presence he entered about sundown, saying: "O Sire, I bring thee a poet the like of whom the eye of Time hath not seen since Daqíqí's face was veiled in death." Then he related what had passed.

So the Amír accorded Farrukhí an audience, and when he came in he did reverence, and the Amír gave him his hand, and assigned him an honourable place, enquiring after his health, treating him with kindness, and inspiring him with hopes of favours to come. When the wine had gone round several times, Farrukhí arose, and, in a sweet and plaintive voice, recited his elegy, beginning:—

با کاروان حلّه برفتم ز سیستان ' با حلّهٔ تنیده ز دل بافته ز جان '

"In a caravan of merchandise from Sistán did I start,
With fabrics spun within my brain and woven in my heart."

When he had finished, the Amír, himself something of a poet, expressed his astonishment at this *qaṣída*. 'Amíd As'ad said, "Wait till you see!" Farrukhí was silent until the wine had produced its full effect on the Amír, then he arose and recited this elegy on the branding-ground. The Amír was amazed, and in his admiration turned to Farrukhí, saying: "They have brought in a thousand colts,

all with white foreheads, fetlocks, and feet. Thou art a cunning rascal, a Sagzí; catch as many as thou art able, that they may be thine." Farrukhí, on whom the wine had produced its full effect, came out, took his turban from his head, hurled himself into the midst of the herd, and chased a drove of them before him across the plain; but, though he caused them to gallop hither and thither, he could not catch a single one. At length a ruined rest-house situated on the edge of the camping-ground came into view, and thither the colts fled. Farrukhí, being tired out, placed his turban under his head in the porch of the rest-house, and at once went to sleep, by reason of his extreme weariness and the effects of the wine. When they counted the colts, they were forty-two in number. The Amír, on being told of this, laughed and said: "He is a lucky fellow, and will come to great things. Look after him, and look after the colts as well. When he awakes, waken me too." So they obeyed the King's orders.

Next day, after sunrise, Farrukhí arose. The Amír had already risen, and, when he had performed his prayers, he gave Farrukhí an audience, treated him with great consideration, and handed over the colts to his attendants. He also ordered Farrukhí to be given a horse and equipments suitable to a man of rank, as well as a tent, three camels, five slaves, wearing apparel, and carpets. So Farrukhí prospered in his service, and enjoyed the greatest circumstance, and waited upon Sulṭán Maḥmúd, who, seeing him thus magnificently equipped, regarded him with the same regard, and his affairs reached that pitch of prosperity which they reached, so that twenty servants girt with silver girdles rode behind him.

Anecdote xvi.

In the year A.H. 510 (A.D. 1116–1117) the King of Islám Sanjar, the son of Malikṣháh the Seljúq (may God be merciful to him!), chanced to be encamped at the spring season within the marches of Ṭús, in the plain of Tarúq,

when I, in hopes of obtaining some favour, joined his Court from Herát, having then nothing in the way of equipment or provision. I composed a *qaṣída* and went to Mu'izzí, the Poet-laureate, to seek for his counsel and support. He looked at my poem, and, having tested my talents in several ways, behaved in the most noble manner, and deemed it his duty to act in the way befitting so great a man.

One day I expressed in his presence a hope that Fortune would be more favourable to me, and complained of my luck. He answered genially: "Thou hast laboured hard to acquire this science, and hast fully mastered it: surely this will have its effect. My own case was precisely similar; and good poetry has never yet been wasted. Thou hast a goodly share in this art: thy verse is even and melodious, and is still improving. Wait and see the advantages which thou wilt reap from this science. For though Fortune should at first be grudging, matters will eventually turn out as thou wishest.

"My father Burhání, the Poet-laureate (may God be merciful to him!), passed away from this transitory to that eternal world in the town of Qazwín in the early part of the reign of Malikshán, entrusting me to the King in this verse, since then become famous:—[1]

من رفتم و فرزند من آمد خلف صدق ' اورا بخدا و بخداوند سپردم '

'I am flitting, but I leave a son behind me,
And commend him to my God and to my King.'

"So my father's salary and allowances were transferred to me, and I became Malikshán's court-poet, and spent a year in the King's service; yet was I unable to see him save from a distance, nor did I get one dínár of my salary

[1] This verse, to which are added several others, is commonly ascribed to the Nidhámu'l-Mulk, e.g. by Dawlatsháh (p. 59 of my forthcoming edition). Apart from the improbability that one who lay dying of a mortal wound would be in the mood to compose verses, we learn from this anecdote that the Nidhámu'l-Mulk "had no opinion of poets because he had no skill in their art." The verse which gives his age as 94 at the time of his death (he was actually 80 at most) is alone enough to discredit the story.

or one maund of my allowances, while my expenditure was increased, I became involved in debt, and my brain was perplexed by my affairs. For that great Minister the Nidhámu'l-Mulk (may God be merciful to him!) had no opinion of poets, because he had no skill in their art; nor did he pay any attention to any one of the religious leaders or mystics.

"One day—it was the eve of the day on which the new moon of Ramaḍán was due to appear, and I had not a farthing for all the expenses incidental to that month and the feast which follows it—I went thus sad at heart to the Amír 'Alí Farámarz[1] 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, a man of royal parentage, a lover of poetry, and the intimate companion and son-in-law of the King, with whom he enjoyed the highest honour and before whom he could speak boldly, for he held high rank under that administration. And he had already been my patron. I said: 'May my lord's life be long! Not all that the father could do can the son do, nor does that which accrued to the father accrue to the son. My father was a bold and energetic man, and was sustained by his art, and the martyred King Alp Arslán, the lord of the world, entertained the highest opinion of him. But what he could do that can I not, for modesty forbids me. I have served this prince for a year, and have contracted debts to the extent of a thousand dínárs, and have not received a farthing. Crave permission, then, for thy servant to go to Níshápúr, and discharge his debts, and live on that which is left over, and express his gratitude to this victorious Dynasty.'

"'Thou speakest truly,' replied Amír 'Alí: 'we have all been at fault, but this shall be so no longer. The King, at the time of Evening Prayer, will go up to look for the moon. Thou must be present there, and we will see what Fortune will do.' Thereupon he at once ordered me to receive a hundred dínárs to defray my Ramaḍán expenses,

[1] Probably 'Alí b. Farámarz the Kákwayhid is intended. See Lane's *Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 145.

and a purse containing this sum in Níshápúr coinage was forthwith brought and placed before me. So I returned mightily well pleased, and made my preparations for Ramaḍán, and at the time of the second prayer went to the King's pavilion. It chanced that 'Alá'u'd-Dawla arrived at the very same moment, and I paid my respects to him. 'Thou hast done excellently well,' said he, 'and hast come punctually.' Then he dismounted and went in before the King.

"At sundown the King came forth from his pavilion, with a cross-bow in his hand and 'Alá'u'd-Dawla on his right hand. I ran forward to do obeisance. Amír 'Alí continued the kindnesses he had already shown me, and then busied himself in looking for the moon. The King, however, was the first to see it, whereat he was mightily pleased. Then 'Alá'u'd-Dawla said to me, 'O son of Burhání, say something appropriate,' and I at once recited these two couplets:—

ای ماه چو ابروان یاری گوئی ' یا نی چو کمان شهریاری گوئی '
نعلی زده از زر عیاری گوئی ' یا گوش سپهر گوشواری گوئی '

'Methinks, O Moon, thou art our Prince's bow,
Or his curved eyebrow, which doth charm us so,
Or else a horse-shoe wrought of gold refined,
Or ring from Heaven's ear depending low.'

"When I had submitted these verses, Amír 'Alí applauded, and the King said: 'Go, loose from the stable whichever horse thou pleasest.' When I was close to the stable, Amír 'Alí designated a horse which was brought out and given to my attendants, and which proved to be worth 300 dínárs of Níshápúr. The King then went to his oratory, and I performed the evening prayer, after which we sat down to meat. At the table Amír 'Alí said: 'O son of Burhání! Thou has not yet said anything about this favour conferred on thee by the lord of the world. Compose

a quatrain at once!' I thereupon sprang to my feet and recited these two verses:—

چون آتش خاطر مرا شاه بدید ‘
از خاک مرا بر زبر ماه کشید ‘
چون آب یکی ترانه از من شنید ‘
چون باد یکی مرکب خاصم بخشید ‘

‘*The King beheld the* fire *which in me blazed:*
Me from low earth *above the moon he raised:*
From me a verse, like water *fluent heard,*
And swift as wind *a noble steed conferred.*’

“When I recited these verses ‘Alá'u'd-Dawla warmly applauded me, and by reason of his applause the King gave me a thousand dínárs. Then ‘Alá'u'd-Dawla said: ‘He hath not yet received his salary and allowances. To-morrow I will sit by the Minister until he writes a draft for his salary on Isfahán, and orders his allowances to be paid out of the treasury.’ Said the King: ‘Thou must do it, then, for no one else has sufficient boldness. And call this poet after my title.’ Now the King's title was *Mu'izzu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín*, so Amír ‘Alí called me *Mu'izzí*. ‘*Amír* Mu'izzí,’ said the King, [correcting him]. And this noble lord was so zealous for me that next day, by the time of the first prayer, I had received a thousand dínárs as a gift, twelve hundred more as allowances, and an order for a thousand maunds of corn. And when the month of Ramaḍán was past, he summoned me to a private audience, and caused me to become the King's boon-companion. So my fortune began to improve, and thenceforth he made enduring provision for me, and to-day whatever I have I possess by the favour of that Prince. May God, blessed and exalted is He, rejoice his dust with the lights of His Mercy, by His Favour and His Grace!”

Anecdote xvii.

The House of Seljúq were all fond of poetry, but none more so than Ṭughán Sháh b. Alp Arslán,[1] whose conversation and intercourse was entirely with poets, and whose favourite companions were almost all of this class—men such as Amír Abú 'Abdu'lláh Qurashí, Abú Bakr Azraqí,[2] Abú Manṣúr, Abú Yúsuf, Shujá'í of Fasá, Aḥmad Badíhí,[3] Ḥaqíqí and Nasímí, all of whom enjoyed a definite status, while many others kept coming and going, all departing with gifts and joyful countenances.

One day the King was playing backgammon with Aḥmad Badíhí. They were finishing a game for [a stake of] ten thousand [dínárs], and the Amír had two pieces in the sixth house and Aḥmad Badíhí two pieces in the first house[4]; and it was the Amír's throw. He threw with the most deliberate care, in order to cast two sixes, instead of which he threw two ones, whereat he was mightily vexed and left the board, while his anger rose so high and reached such a pitch that each moment he was like to put his hand to his sword, and his courtiers trembled like the leaves of a tree, seeing that he was a king, and withal a boy angered at such spite of Fortune.

Then Abú Bakr Azraqí arose, and, approaching the minstrels, recited this quatrain:—

گر شاه دو شش خواست دو یک زخم افتاد
تا ظن نبری که کعبتین داد نداد

[1] Called by Riḍá-qulí Khán (*M.F.*, i, 139) Ṭughánsháh b. Malik-i-Mu'ayyad. See Houtsma's *Hist. des Seljoucides de Kermân*, pp. 111, 119, 142.

[2] 'Awfí's *Lubáb*, ch. x, No. 3; Dawlatsháh (pp. 72–73 of my ed.), Ṭabaqa ii, No. 1; and *M.F.*, vol. i, pp. 139–152.

[3] *M.F.*, i, p. 169. His *laqab* was Majdu'd-Dín and his *nisba* Sajáwandí.

[4] For the explanation of this passage I am indebted to my friend Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Ghaffár of the Persian Legation. The six 'houses' on each side of the backgammon board are named (proceeding from left to right) as follows: (1) *khal-khán* or *yak-gáh*, (2) *dú-khán*, (3) *si-khán*, (4) *chahár-khán*, (5) *báf-dar*, (6) *shish-khán* or *shish-dar-gáh*. The numbers contained in these names allude to the numbers which must be thrown with the dice to get the pieces which occupy them off the board.

آن زخم کـه کرد رای شـاهنـشـه یـاد ‘
در خدمـت شـاه روی بـر خـاک نهاد ‘

“Reproach not Fortune with discourteous tricks
If by the King, desiring double six,
Two ones were thrown; for whomsoe’er he calls
Face to the earth before him prostrate falls.”

When I was at Herát in the year A.H. 509 (A.D. 1115–1116), Abú Manṣúr and Abú Yúsuf related to me that the Amír Tughánsháh was so charmed and delighted with these two verses that he kissed Azraqí on the eyes, called for gold, and successively placed five hundred dínárs in his mouth, continuing thus to reward him so long as one gold piece was left. Thus did he recover his good humour and such largesse did he bestow, and the cause of all this was one quatrain. May God Almighty have mercy on both of them, by His Favour and Grace!

Anecdote xviii.

In the year A.H. 472 (A.D. 1079–1080)[1] a certain spiteful person laid a statement before Sulṭán Ibráhím to the effect that his son, Maḥmúd Sayfu’d-Dawla, intended to go to ‘Iráq to Malikshán. The King’s jealousy was aroused, and it so worked on him that suddenly he had his son seized, bound, and interned in the fortress of Náy. His son’s intimates also he arrested and interned, amongst them Mas‘úd-i-Sa‘d-i-Salmán, whom he sent to Vajíristán,[2] to

[1] The two MSS. and L. all have “572,” an evident error, for (1) Sulṭán Ibráhím the Ghaznavid reigned A.H. 451–492 (A.D. 1059–1099); (2) Malikshán reigned A.H. 465–485 (A.D. 1072–1092); (3) the poet in question died in A.H. 515 or 525 (A.D. 1121 or 1130); (4) the *Chahár Maqála*, as we have already seen, was written during the lifetime of Sulṭán ‘Alá’u’d-Dín Ḥusayn *Jahánsúz*, i.e. before A.H. 556 (A.D. 1161).

[2] So A., L.: B. has اورا ابو جیرستان. I cannot identify the word, and suspect that the reading is wrong.

the Castle of Náy; whence he sent to the King the following quatrain which he had composed:—

در بند تو ای شاه ملک شه باید ' تا بند تو پای تاجداری ساید '
آن کس که ز پشت سعد سلمان آید ' گر زهر شود ملک ترا نگزاید '

" O King, 't is Malikshâh should wear thy chain,
That royal limbs might fret with captive's pain,
But Sa'd-i-Salmán's offspring could not hurt,
Though venomous as poison, thy domain!"

'Alí Kháṣṣ brought this quatrain to the King, but it produced no effect on him, though all wise and impartial critics will recognize what rank Mas'úd's poems of captivity[1] hold in lofty feeling, and what degree in eloquence. Sometimes, when I read his verses, the hair stands on end on my body, and the tears are like to trickle from my eyes. But when these verses were read to the King, and he heard them, they affected him not at all, and not one particle of his being was warmed to enthusiasm, so that he departed from this world leaving that noble man in prison. Khwája Salmán says:—[2]

مقصور شد مصالح کار جهانیان '
بر حبس و بند این تن مهجور ناتوان '
بر حبس و بند نیز ندارندم استوار '
تا گرد من ندارند ده تن نگاهبان '
هر ده نشسته بر در و در بام سجن من '
با یکدگر دمادم بگویند هر زمان '
هان بر جهید زود که حیلتگر یست او '
کز آفتاب پل کند از سایه نردبان '

[1] I adopt B.'s reading, حبسیّات. A. has حیسیّات; L. جلیّات.

[2] These verses are inserted in the margin of A. (f. 20a) only.

گیرم کـه سـاخته شـوم از بهر کارزار ،
بیرون جهم ز گوشهٔ این سجن ناگهان ،
با چند کس بر آیم در قلعه گرچه من ،
شیری شوم معربد و پیلی شوم دمان ،
پس بی سلاح جنگ چگونه کنم مگر ،
مـن سینه‌را سپر کنم و پشت‌را کمان ،

"Naught served the ends of statesmen save that I,
A helpless exile, should in fetters lie,
Nor do they deem me safe within their cells,
Unless surrounded by ten sentinels;
Which ten sit ever by the gates and walls,
And ever one unto his comrade calls:
'Ho there! On guard! This cunning rogue is one
To fashion bridge and steps from shade and sun!'
Why, grant I stood arrayed for such a fight,
And suddenly sprang forth, attempting flight,
Could elephant or raging lion hope,
Thus cramped in prison-cage, with ten to cope?
Can I, bereft of weapons, take the field,
Or make of back and bosom bow and shield?"

So, by reason of his relation to Sayfu'd-Dawla, he remained imprisoned for twelve years in the days of Sulṭán Ibráhím. And Abú Naṣr of Párs,[1] on account of his like relation, was imprisoned for eight years, though none hath been heard of who hath produced so many splendid elegies and rare gems of verse as were born of his brilliant genius. After eight[2] years Ṭáhir 'Alí of Múshkán, Thiqatu'l-Mulk,

[1] I can find no mention of a poet of this name, and am inclined to think that the author of the oldest extant Persian version of *Kalíla and Dimna* (lithographed at Tabríz, A.H. 1305) is meant. In this volume his name is given as Nidhámu'd-Dín Abu'l-Ma'álí Naṣru'lláh b. 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd, but in *M.F.* (vol. i, p. 655) as Naṣíru'd-Dín [b.] 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd-i-Fársí-i-Shírází. Some of the verses which he composed in prison are there cited.

[2] L. has 'twenty.'

brought him forth from his bondage, so that, in short, during this King's reign that illustrious man spent all his life in captivity, and the ill repute of this deed remained on this House. I hesitate as to the motives which are to be assigned to this act, and whether it is to be ascribed to strength of purpose, or a heedless nature, or hardness of heart, or a malicious disposition. In any case it was not a laudable deed, and I have never met with any sensible man who was prepared to praise that dynasty for such inflexibility of purpose or excess of caution. And I heard it remarked by the King of the World Ghiyáthu'd-Dín wa'd-Dunyá Muḥammad,[1] the son of Malikshàh, at the Gates of Hamadán, on the occasion of the rebellion of his son-in-law, Amír Shihábu'd-Dín Qutulmush Alp Ghází: "It is the sign of a malicious heart to keep a foe imprisoned, for one of two things, either he means well or ill. Then, if the former, it is an injustice to keep him in prison; and if the latter, it is again an injustice to suffer an ill-doer to live." In short that misery of Mas'úd passed, while this ill repute will endure till the Resurrection.

Anecdote xix.

In the time of Sulṭán Khiḍr b. Ibráhím the power of the Kháqánís[2] was at its most flourishing period, while the strength of their administration and the respect in which it was held were such as could not be surpassed.

Now he was a wise, just, and sagacious ruler, and to him appertained the dominion of Transoxania and Turkistán, while he enjoyed the most complete security on the side of Khurásán, wherewith he was allied by friendly relations, kinship, and firm treatises and covenants. And of the

[1] The seventh Seljúq king, who reigned A.H. 498–511 (A.D. 1104–1117).

[2] The dynasty called Ilak Khans (see Lane's *Muḥammadan Dynasties*, pp 134–135) seems to be meant. L. has '*Sámánís*.' Khiḍr Khán b. Abu'l-Muẓaffar 'Imádu'd-Dawla Ibráhím Tufgháj Khan reigned about A.H. 472–488 (A.D. 1079–1095).

splendour maintained by him one detail was this, that when he rode out they carried before his horse, besides other arms, seven hundred maces of gold and silver. He was, moreover, a great patron of poets, and in his service were Amír Am'aq,[1] Master Rashídí,[2] Najjár-i-Ságharchí, 'Alí Pánídí,[3] the son of Darghúsh,[4] the son of Isfaráyiní, 'Alí Sipihrí,[5] and Najíbí of Farghána, all of whom obtained rich rewards and vast honours. The Poet-laureate was Amír 'Am'aq, who had profited abundantly by that dynasty and obtained the most ample circumstance, comprising fair damsels, well-paced horses, golden vessels, sumptuous apparel, and servants, biped and quadruped, innumerable. He was greatly honoured at the King's Court, so that of necessity the other poets must needs do him reverence. Such homage as from the others he desired from Master Rashídí also, but herein he was disappointed, for Rashídí, though still young, was nevertheless learned in his art. The Lady Zaynab was the special object of his panegyrics, and he enjoyed the fullest favour of the King, who was continually praising him and asserting his merits, so that Rashídí's affairs prospered, the title of "Prince of poets"[6] was conferred on him, he continued to rise higher in the King's opinion, and from him received gifts of great value.

One day, in Rashídí's absence, the King asked 'Am'aq: "What thinkest thou of the verse of Rashídí, 'the Prince of poets'?" "His verse," replied he, "is extremely good and chaste and correct, but it wants spice."

After some while had elapsed, Rashídí came in and did obeisance, and was about to sit down when the King called him before himself, and said, teasing him as is the way of kings: "I asked the Poet-laureate just now, 'How is Rashídí's poetry?' He replied that it was good, but wanted spice. Now you must compose a quatrain on this

[1] See n. 19 on p. 46 *supra*.
[2] Mentioned briefly in the *Átashkada* amongst the poets of Máwará'u'n-Nahr.
[3] See n. 22 on p. 46 *supra*.
[4] See n. 23 on p. 46 *supra*.
[5] See n. 1 on p. 47 *supra*.
[6] Sayyidu'sh-Shu'ará.

subject." Rashídí, with a bow, sat down in his place and improvised the following fragment:—

شعرهای مرا به بیمزگی ' عیب کردی روا بود شاید '
شعر من همچو شکّر و شهدست ' و اندرین دو نمک نکو ناید '
شلغم و باقلاست گفتهٔ تو ' نمک ای قلتبان ترا باید '

"You stigmatize my verse as 'wanting spice,'
And possibly, my friend, you may be right.
My verse is honey-flavoured, sugar-sweet,
And spice with such could scarcely cause delight.
Spice is for you, you blackguard, not for me,
For beans and turnips is the stuff you write!"

When he recited these verses the King was mightily pleased. And in Transoxania it is the custom and practice to place in the audience-chambers of kings and others gold and silver in trays which they call *sím-ṭáqá* or *juft*;[1] and in this audience of Khiḍr Khán's there were set four trays of red gold, each containing two hundred and fifty dínárs; and these he used to dispense by the handful. On this day he ordered Rashídí to receive all four trays, so he obtained the highest honour, and became famous. For just as a patron becomes famous by the verse of a good poet, so do poets likewise achieve renown by receiving a great reward from the king, these two things being interdependent.

Anecdote xx.

Master Abu'l-Qásim Firdawsí[2] was one of the Dihqáns of Ṭús, from a village called Bázh, in the district of

[1] A. . . سیم طاقا یا ; B. . . سیم طاق یا ; L. . . سیم طاق و .

[2] This anecdote is cited by Ibn Isfandiyár in his *History of Ṭabaristán* (A.H. 613, A.D. 1216: see Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 202–204 and 533*b*), whence it was excerpted and published, with a German translation, by Ethé (*Z.D.M.G.*, vol. xlviii, pp. 89–94). It was also utilized by Noeldeke in his *Iranische Nationalepos* (*Grundriss d. Iran. Philologie*, vol. ii, p. 150 et seqq.).

Ṭabarán,[1] a large village capable of supplying a thousand men. There Firdawsí enjoyed an excellent position, so that he was rendered quite independent of his neighbours by the income which he derived from his lands, and he had but one child, a daughter. His one desire in putting the Book of Kings (*Sháhnáma*) into verse was, out of the reward which he might obtain for it, to supply her with an adequate dowry. And to this end he left nothing undone, raising his verse as high as heaven, and causing it in sweet fluency to resemble running water. What genius, indeed, could raise verse to such a height as he does in the letter written by Zál to Sám the son of Narímán in Mázandarán, when he desired to ally himself with Rúdába the daughter of the King of Kábul:—[2]

یکی نامه فرمود نزدیک سام ' سراسر درود و نوید و سلام '
نخست از جهان آفرین یاد کرد ' که هم داد فرمود و هم داد کرد '
وزو باد بر سام نیرم درود ' خداوند شمشیر و گوپال و خود '
چماننده چرمه هنگام کرد ' چراننده کرگس اندر نبرد '
فزاینده باد آوردگاه ' فشاننده خون ز ابر سیاه '
بمردی هنر در هنر ساخته ' هنرش از هنر گردن افراخته '

" *Then to Sám straightway sent he a letter,*
Filled with fair praises, prayers, and good greeting.
First made he mention of the World-Maker,
Who doom dispenseth and doom fulfilleth.
' On Níram's son Sám,' wrote he, ' the sword-lord,
Mail-clad and mace-girt, may the Lord's peace rest!
Hurler of horse troops in hot-contested fights,
Feeder of carrion-fowls with foemen's flesh-feast,

[1] A., B., L. all have "Ṭabaristán." See, however, Noeldeke, loc. cit., p. 151.

[2] These verses (with some variants) will be found on pp. 124–5 of vol. i of Turner Macan's edition of the *Sháhnáma* (Calcutta, 1829).

Raising the roar of strife on the red war-field,
From the grim war-clouds grinding the gore-shower.
Who, by his manly might merit on merit
Heaps, till his merit merit outmeasures.'" [1]

In eloquence I know of no poetry in Persian which equals this, and but little even in Arabic.

When Firdawsí had completed the *Sháhnáma*, it was transcribed by 'Alí Daylam [2] and recited by Abú Dulaf,[2] both of whom he mentions by name in tendering his thanks to Ha'íy-i-Qutayba,[3] the governor of Ṭús, who had conferred on Firdawsí many favours :—

ازین نامه از نامداران شهر ' علی دیلم و بو دلف راست بهر '
نیامد جز أحسنتشان بهرهام ' بگفت اندر أحسنتشان زهرهام '
حئیّ قتیبه است از آزادگان ' که از من نخواهد سخن رایگان '
نَیَم آگه از اصل و فرع خراج ' همی غلطم اندر میان دواج '

"*Of the men of renown of this city 'Alí Daylam and Abú Dulaf have participated in this book.*
From them my portion was naught save 'Well done!'
My gall-bladder was like to burst with their 'Well dones.' [4]
Ha'iy the son of Qutayba is a nobleman who asks me not for unrewarded verse.
I am cognizant neither of the principles nor the applications of tax-collecting;
I lounge [at ease] in the midst of my quilt." [5]

[1] Poor as this rendering is, I am strongly of opinion that for an English rendering of the *Sháhnáma* (which always seems to me very analogous in aim, scope, and treatment to that little-read English epic, the Brut of Layamon), the old English alliterative verse would be the most suitable form.

[2] See Noeldeke, loc. cit., p. 153, and n. 2 *ad calc.*

[3] So A. and L. B. has the more usual "Husayn b. Qutayb." Cf. Noeldeke, loc. cit.

[4] i.e., I am sick of their barren and unprofitable plaudits. As these poor men rendered him material service in other ways, Firdawsí's remarks seem rather ungrateful.

[5] What follows is evidently an explanation of this couplet. Firdawsí means that being no longer vexed with the exactions of the tax-gatherer, he can now repose in peace.

Ḥa'íy the son of Qutayba was the revenue-collector of Ṭús, and deemed it his duty at least to abate the taxes payable by Firdawsí; hence naturally his name will endure till the Resurrection and kings will read it.

So 'Alí Daylam transcribed the *Sháhnáma* in seven volumes, and Firdawsí, taking with him Abú Dulaf, set out for Ghazna. There, by the help of the great Minister Aḥmad Ḥasan[1] the secretary, he presented it, and it was accepted, Sulṭán Maḥmúd expressing himself as greatly indebted to his Minister. But the Prime Minister had enemies who were continually casting the dust of perturbation into the cup of his position, and Maḥmúd consulted with them as to what he should give Firdawsí. They replied: "Fifty thousand dirhams, and even that is too much, seeing that he is in belief a Ráfiḍí and a Mu'tazilite. Of his Mu'tazilite views this verse is a proof:—

به بینندگان آفریننده‌را ' نبینی مرنجان دو بیننده‌را '

' Thy gaze the Creator can never descry;
Then wherefore, by gazing, dost weary thine eye?'

" while to his Ráfiḍí proclivities these verses of his witness:

خداوند[2] گیتی چو دریا نهاد ' بر انگیخته موج از آن تند باد '
چو هفتاد کشتی دران ساخته ' همه بادبانها بر افراخته '
میانه یکی خوب کشتی عروس ' بر آراسته همچو چشم خروس '
پیمبر بدو اندران با علی ' همه اهل بیت نبی و ولی '
اگر خلد خواهی بدیگر سرای ' بنزد نبیّ و وصی گیر جای '
گرت زین بد آید گناه منست ' چنین دان و این راه راه منست '
برین زادم و هم برین بگذرم ' یقین دان که خاک پی حیدرم '

[1] So A., B., and L. Noeldeke (loc. cit., p. 153) has Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad.
[2] Both MSS. have خردمند.

'When the Lord of the World established the Sea, the fierce wind stirred up waves thereon,
Thereon, as it were, seventy ships wrought, all with sails set.
Amongst them one vessel, fair as a bride, decked with colour like the eye of the cock,
Therein the Prophet with 'Alí, and all the household of the Prophet and his Vicar.
If thou desirest Paradise in the other World, take thy place by the Prophet and his Trustee.
If ill accrues to thee thereby, it is my fault: know this, that this way is my way.
In this I was born, and in this I will pass away: know for a surety that I am as dust at the feet of 'Alí.'"

Now Sulṭán Maḥmúd was a zealot, and he listened to these imputations and caught hold of them, and, to be brief, only twenty[1] thousand dirhams were paid to Ḥakím Firdawsí. He was bitterly disappointed, went to the bath, and, on coming out, bought a drink of sherbet,[2] and divided the money between the bath-man and the sherbet-seller. Knowing, however, Maḥmúd's severity, he fled from Ghazna, and alighted in Herát at the shop of Azraqí's father, Isma'íl the bookseller (*Warráq*), where he remained in hiding for six months, until Maḥmúd's messengers had reached Ṭús and had turned back thence, when Firdawsí, feeling secure, set out from Herát for Ṭús, taking the *Sháhnáma* with him. Thence he came to Ṭabaristán to the Sipahbad Shír-zád of the House of Bávand, who was king there; and this is a noble house which traces its descent from Yazdigird the son of Shahriyár.

Then Firdawsí wrote a satire on Sulṭán Maḥmúd in the Preface, and read a hundred couplets to Shír-zád,[3] saying: "I will dedicate this *Sháhnáma* to you instead of to Sulṭán Maḥmúd, for this book deals wholly with the legends and deeds of thy forebears." Shír-zád treated him with honour

[1] So A. and B., but L. has "sixty thousand."
[2] *Fuqá'*, described as a kind of beer.
[3] Cf. Noeldeke, loc. cit., p. 155, and n. 4 *ad calc.*, where this ruler's name is given as the Ispahbad Shahriyár b. Sharzín.

and showed him many kindnesses, and said: "Maḥmúd was induced to act thus by others, who did not submit your book to him under proper conditions, and misrepresented you. Moreover, you are a Shí'ite, and to one who loves the Family of the Prophet nothing will happen which did not happen to them. Maḥmúd is my liege-lord: let the *Sháhnáma* stand in his name, and give me the satire which you have written on him, that I may expunge it and give you some little recompense; and Maḥmúd will surely summon thee and seek to satisfy thee fully. Do not, then, throw away the labour spent on such a book." And next day he sent Firdawsí 100,000 dirhams, saying: "I buy each couplet at a thousand dirhams; give me those hundred couplets, and rest satisfied therewith." So Firdawsí sent him these verses, and he ordered them to be expunged; and Firdawsí also destroyed his rough copy of them, so that this satire was done away with, and only these few verses remained:—[1]

مرا غمزه کردند کآن پرسخن ' بمهر نبیّ و علی شد کهن '
اگر مهرشان من حکایت کنم ' چو محمودرا صد حمایت کنم '
پرستار زاده نیآید بکار ' وگرچند باشد پدر شهریار[2] '
نه نیکی نبد شاهرا دستگاه ' وگرنه مرا بر نشاندی بگاه '
چو اندر تبارش بزرگی نبود ' ندانست نام بزرگان شنود '

"They cast imputations on me, saying: 'That man of many words
Hath grown old in the love of the Prophet and 'Alí.'
If I speak of my love for these
I can protect a hundred such as Maḥmúd.

[1] This is a remarkable statement, and, if true, would involve the assumption that the well-known satire, as we have it, is spurious. Cf. Noeldeke (loc. cit.), pp. 155–156, and n. 1 on the latter.

[2] A. adds another couplet here as follows:—

ازین درسخن چند رانم همی ' چو دریا کرانه ندانم همی '

No good can come of the son of a slave,
Even though his father hath ruled as King.
The King had no aptitude for good,
Else would he have seated me on a throne.
Since in his family there was no nobility
He could not bear to hear the names of the noble."

In truth good service was rendered to Maḥmúd by Shír-zád, and Maḥmúd was greatly indebted to him.

When I was at Níshápúr in the year A.H. 514 (A.D. 1120–1121), I heard Amír Mu'izzí say that he had heard Amír 'Abdu'r-Razzáq at Ṭús relate as follows:—"Maḥmúd was once in India, and was returning thence towards Ghazna. On the way, as it chanced, there was a rebellious chief possessed of a strong fortress, and next day Maḥmúd encamped at the gates of it, and sent an ambassador to him, bidding him come before him on the morrow, do homage, pay his respects at the Court, receive a robe of honour and return to his place. Next day Maḥmúd rode out with the Prime Minister on his right hand, for the ambassador had turned back and was coming to meet the king. 'I wonder,' said the latter to the Minister, 'what answer he will have given?' The Minister replied:

اگر جز بکام من آید جواب ' من و گرز و میدان افراسیاب '

'Should the answer come contrary to my wish,
Then for me the mace and the arena of [*combat with*]
Afrásiyáb.'

'Whose verse,' enquired Maḥmúd, 'is that? For he must have the heart of a man.' 'Poor Abu'l-Qásim Firdawsí composed it,' answered the Minister; 'he who laboured for five and twenty years to complete such a work, and reaped from it no advantage.' 'You speak well,' said Maḥmúd; 'I deeply regret that this noble man was disappointed by me. Remind me at Ghazna to send him something.'

"So when the Sultan returned to Ghazna, the Minister reminded him; and Maḥmúd ordered Firdawsí to be given

sixty thousand dínárs' worth of indigo, and that this indigo should be carried to Ṭús on the King's own camels, and that apologies should be made to Firdawsí. For years the Minister had been working for this, and at length he had achieved his work; so now he caused the camels to be loaded, and the indigo arrived safely at Ṭabarán.[1] But as the camels were entering through the Rúdbár Gate, the corpse of Firdawsí was being borne forth from the Gate of Razán.[2] Now at this time there was in Ṭabarán a preacher whose fanaticism was such that he declared that he would not suffer Firdawsí's body to be buried in the Musulmán Cemetery, because he was a Ráfiḍí; and nothing that men could say served to move this doctor. Now outside the gate there was a garden belonging to Firdawsí, and there they buried him, and there he lies to this day." And in the year A.H. 510 (A.D. 1116–1117) I visited his tomb.[3]

They say that Firdawsí left a daughter, of very lofty spirit, to whom they would have given the King's gift; but she would not accept it, saying, "I need it not." The Post-master wrote to the Court and represented this to the King, who ordered that doctor to be expelled from Ṭabarán as a punishment for his officiousness, and to be exiled from his home, and the money to be given to the Imám Abú Bakr Isḥáq for the repair of the rest-house of Cháha,[4] which stands on the road between Merv and Níshápúr on the boundaries of Ṭús. When this order reached Ṭús and Níshápúr, it was faithfully carried out; and the restoration of the rest-house of Cháha was effected by this money.

[1] Ṭabarán is the name of a portion of the city of Ṭús. See B. de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, pp. 374–375.

[2] Noeldeke (loc. cit., p. 157, and n. 2 *ad calc.*) has *Razzáq* for *Razán*, but A., B., and L. all agree in the latter reading. There are several places called *Rúdbár*, of which one situated near Ṭabarán is probably meant. See B. de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 266. A *Razán* in Sístán is mentioned by *Baládhurí* (pp. 396–397), and another (رزان) in the district of Nasá in Khurásán. (*Dict. de la Perse*, p. 259.)

[3] I am not sure at what point the inverted commas should be inserted, but the last sentence of this paragraph is certainly Nidhámí's.

[4] So B. and L. A. has *Jáha*.

Anecdote xxi.

At the period when I was in the service of that martyred prince the King of the Mountains (may God illuminate his tomb and exalt his station in Paradise!), that august personage had a high opinion of me, and showed himself a most generous patron towards me. Now on the Festival of the Breaking of the Fast one of the nobles of the city of Balkh (may God maintain its prosperity!), Amír 'Amíd Ṣafiyyu'd-Dín Abú Bakr [1] Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn Rawánsháhí, came to the Court. He was a young man, an expert writer, a qualified Secretary of State, well endowed with culture and its fruits, popular with all, whose praises were on all tongues. And at this time I was not in attendance.

Now at a reception the King chanced to say, "Call Nidhámí." Said the Amír 'Amíd Ṣafiyyu'd-Dín, "Is Nidhámí here?" They answered "Yes." But he supposed that it was Nidhámí-i-Munírí.[2] "Ah," said he, "a fine poet and a man of wide fame!" When the messenger arrived to summon me, I put on my shoes, and, as I entered, did obeisance, and sat down in my place. When the wine had gone round several times, Amír 'Amíd said, "Nidhámí has not come." "He is come," replied the King; "see, there he is, seated in such-and-such a place." "I am not speaking of this Nidhámí," answered Amír 'Amíd; "that Nidhámí of whom I speak is another one, and as for this one, I do not even know him." Thereupon I saw that the King was vexed; he at once turned to me and said, "Is there another Nidhámí besides thee?" "Yes, sire," I answered, "there are two other Nidhámís, one of Samarqand, whom they call Nidhámí-i-Munírí, and one of Níshápúr, whom they call Nidhámí-i-Athírí; while me they call Nidhámí-i-'Arúḍí." "Art thou better, or they?" demanded he. Then Amír 'Amíd perceived that

[1] L. adds 'ibn.'

[2] The reading of this *nisba* is very doubtful in all three texts, both here and lower. In some it appears to read *Minbarí*.

he had spoken ill, and that the King was annoyed. "Sire," said he, "those two Nidhámís are quarrelsome fellows, apt to break up social gatherings by their quarrelsomeness, and to cause trouble, and to do mischief." "Wait," said the King jestingly, "till you see this one drain a bumper and break up the meeting:[1] but of these three Nidhámís which is the best poet?" "Of those two," said the Amír 'Amíd, "I have personal knowledge, having seen them, while this one I have not previously seen, nor have I heard his poetry. If he will compose a couple of verses on this subject which we have been discussing, so that I may see his talents and hear his verse, I will tell you which of these three is best."

Then the King turned to me, saying: "Now, O Nidhámí, do not shame us: say what 'Amíd desires."

Now at that time, when I was in the service of this King, I possessed a copious talent and a brilliant genius, and the favours and gifts of my master had stimulated me to such a point that my improvisations came fluent as running water; so I took up a pen, and, ere the wine-cup had gone twice round, composed these five couplets and submitted them to the King:—

در جهان سه نظامییم ای شاه ' که جهانی ز ما بافغانند '
من بورسا به پیش تخت شهم ' و آن دو در مَرْو پیش سلطانند '
بحقیقت که در سخن امروز ' هر یکی مفخر خراسانند '
گرچه همچون روان سخن گویند ' ورچه همچون خرد سخن دانند '
من شرابم که شان چو در یابم ' هر دو از کار خود فرو مانند '

[1] L., which I follow, has: ' .. که قدحی بخورد و مجلس را برهم زند '
A. has: .. که پنج قدح سنگی بخورد .. B. has: .. بیقدح سنگی بخورد ..

"We are three Nidhámís in the world, O King, on account of whom a whole world is filled with outcry.
I am at Warsá before the King's throne, while those two others are in Merv before the Sultan.
To-day, in truth, in verse each one is the Pride of Khurásán.
Although they utter verse subtle as spirit, and although they understand the Art of Speech like Wisdom,
I am the Wine, for, when I get hold of them, both desist from their work."

When I submitted these verses, the Amír 'Amíd Ṣafiyyu'd-Dín bowed and said: "O King, let alone the Nidhámís, I know of no poet in all Transoxania, 'Iráq, or Khurásán capable of improvising five such verses, more especially in respect of strength, energy, and sweetness, conjoined with such grace of diction and filled with ideas so original. Rejoice, O Nidhámí, for thou hast no peer on the face of the earth. O sire, he hath a graceful wit, a mind swift to apprehend, and a finished art. By the good fortune of the King of the age and his generosity he hath developed into a unique genius, and will even become more than this, for he is young and hath many days before him."

Thereat the countenance of my King and Lord brightened mightily, and a great cheerfulness appeared in his gracious temperament, and he applauded me, saying: "I give thee the lead-mine of Warsá from this Festival until the Festival of the Sheep-sacrifice. Send an agent there." I did so, sending Isḥáq the Jew. It was the middle of summer, and while they were working it they melted much of the ore, so that in seventy days twelve thousand maunds of lead[1] accrued to me, while the King's opinion of me was increased a thousand-fold. May God (blessed and exalted is He) illuminate his august ashes with the light of His approval,[2] by His Favour and Grace!

[1] A., B. here add: از آن خمس.

[2] A. adds after کنناد:— و جان شریف اورا بجمیع غنا مسرور بمنّه آلخ

Third Discourse.

On the Nature of the Lore of the Stars, and on the Expert Astrologer.

Abú Rayḥán Bírúní says in the first chapter of his "Explanation of the Science of Astrology" (*Kitábu't-Tafhím fí ṣaná'ati 't-tanjím*[1]): "A man does not deserve the title of Astrologer until he attains proficiency in four sciences: *first*, Mathematics; *secondly*, Arithmetic; *thirdly*, Cosmography; and *fourthly*, Judicial Astrology."

Now *Mathematical Science* is that whereby are known the natures and qualities of lines and geometrical figures, plain and solid, and the general relations of quantities, and what partakes of the quantitative nature, to what has position and form. It includes the principles of the Book of Euclid the geometrician[2] in the recension of Thábit ibn Qurra.[3]

Arithmetic is that science whereby are known the natures of all sorts of numbers;[4] the nature of their relation to one another; their generation from each other; and the applications thereof, such as halving, doubling, multiplication, division, addition, subtraction, and Algebra. The principles thereof are contained in the book of the *Ἀριθμήτικη*, and the applications in the "Supplement" (*Takmila*) of Abú Manṣúr of Baghdad,[5] and the "Hundred Chapters" (*Ṣad Báb*) of as-Sajzí.[6]

[1] See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 451–2, where a MS. of the Persian version of this work, dated A.H. 685 (A.D. 1286), is described.

[2] I suppose that this is the meaning of هجّار in the text.

[3] I take this to be the sense of L.'s reading: که ثابت بن قرّه دستی کرده است. For دستی A. appears to read وستی and B. دسمی. Concerning Thábit b. Qurra, see Wüstenfeld's *Gesch. d. Arabischen Aerzte*, pp. 34–36; Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litteratur*, pp. 217, 218, etc. He was born in A.H. 221 (A.D. 836) and died A.H. 288 (A.D. 901).

[4] A. adds و خاصّه هر نوعی از در نفس خویش.

[5] Abú Manṣúr 'Abdu'l-Qáhir b. Ṭáhir al-Baghdádí, d. A.H. 429 (A.D. 1037). See Háji Khalífa, No. 3,253.

[6] Abú Sa'íd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-Jalíl as-Sajzí (or Sijazi, i.e of Sajistán or Sístán). See Brockelmann, op. cit., p. 219.

Cosmography is that science whereby are known the natures of the Celestial and Terrestrial Bodies,[1] their shapes and positions, their relations to one another, and the measurements and distances which are between them, together with the nature of the movements of each one of the stars and heavens, and the co-ordination of the spheres, axes, and circles whereby these movements are fulfilled. It includes a knowledge of the Al-Magest and the best of its commentaries and elucidations, which are the Commentary of Tabrízí[2] and the Al-Magest of Shifá. And amongst the applications of this science is the science of the Calendar and of Almanacs.

Judicial Astrology is a branch of Natural Science, and its special use is prognostication, by which is meant the deducing by analogy from configurations, and from an estimation of the degrees and zodiacal signs and their influences, those events which are brought about by their movements, in respect to the condition of the cycles of the world, politics, cities, nativities, changes, transitions, decisions, and other questions; and it is contained in these five [books] which we have enumerated, to wit, the writings of Abú Ma'shar of Balkh,[3] Aḥmad 'Abdu'l-Jalíl-i-Sajzí, Abú Rayḥán Bírúní, and Gúshyár-i-Jílí.[4]

So the Astrologer must be a man of acute mind, approved character, and great natural intelligence. And one of the essentials of this art is that the astrologer who would pronounce prognostications should possess in his own horoscope the Share of the Unseen, and that the Lord of the House of this Share of the Unseen should be lucky, and in a favourable position, in order that such pronouncements as he gives may be near the truth. And one of the

[1] For اجرام ("bodies") A., B. have اجزاء عالم, "the nature of the constituent parts of the Celestial and Terrestrial Realms."

[2] See the long article on *al-Majistí* in Hájí Khalífa (No. 11,413). The *Tabrízí* intended is probably al-Faḍl b. Ḥátim of Tabríz.

[3] See Brockelmann, op. cit., pp. 221, 222.

[4] See ibid., pp. 222, 223. Both forms of the *nisba* (Jílí and Jabalí) are found in the texts.

conditions of being a good astrologer is that he should have in mind the whole of the "Principia" (*Uṣúl*) of Gúshyár, and should continually study the "Opus Majus,"[1] and should look frequently into the *Qánún-i-Mas'údí*[2] and the *Jámi'-i-Sháhí*, so that his knowledge and concepts may be refreshed.

Anecdote xxii.

Ya'qúb b. Isḥáq al-Kindí,[3] though he was a Jew, was the philosopher of his age and the wisest man of his time, and stood high in the service of al-Ma'mún. One day he came in before al-Ma'mún, and sat down above one of the Imáms of Islám. Said this man, "Thou art of a subject race;[4] why, then, dost thou sit above the Imáms of Islám?" "Because," said Ya'qúb, "I know what thou knowest, while thou knowest not what I know."

Now this person knew of his skill in Astrology, but had no knowledge of his other attainments in science. "I will write down," said he, "something on a piece of paper, and if thou canst divine what I have written, I will admit your claim." Then they laid a wager, on the part of this person a cloak, and on the part of Ya'qúb a mule and its trappings, worth a thousand dínárs, which was standing at the door. Then the former asked for an inkstand and paper, wrote something on a piece of paper, placed it under the Caliph's quilt, and cried, "Out with it!" Ya'qúb b. Isḥáq asked for a tray of earth, rose up, took the altitude, ascertained the ascendant, drew an astrological table on the tray of earth, determined the positions of the stars, fixed the signs of the Zodiac, worked out the subjective conditions and

[1] و کار مهتر پیوسته مطالعه می کند. From the context, some book would seem to be intended.

[2] By Abú Rayḥán al-Bírúní. See *Hájí Khalífa*, No. 9,359.

[3] See Wüstenfeld's *Gesch. d. Arab. Aerzte*, pp. 21, 22. He died about A.H. 260 (A.D. 873).

[4] تو مرد ذمّی باشی.

affinities,[1] and said, "On that paper he has written something which was first a plant and then an animal". Al-Ma'mún put his hand under the quilt and drew forth the paper, on which was written "The Rod of Moses." Al-Ma'mún was filled with wonder and expressed his astonishment. Then Ya'qúb took the cloak of his adversary, and cut it in two before al-Ma'mún, saying, "I will make it into two . . . ."[2]

This matter became generally known in Baghdad, whence it spread to 'Iráq and throughout Khurásán, and was widely discussed. A certain doctor of Balkh, prompted by that fanatical zeal which characterizes the learned, obtained a book on Astrology and placed a knife in the middle of it, intending to go to Baghdad, attend the lectures of Ya'qúb b. Isḥáq al-Kindí, make a beginning in Astrology, and, when he should find a suitable opportunity, suddenly kill him. Stage by stage he advanced, until he went in to the hot bath and came out, arrayed himself in clean clothes, and, placing this book in his sleeve, set out for Ya'qúb's house.

When he reached the gate of the house, he saw standing there many handsomely-caparisoned horses belonging to descendants of the Prophet[3] and other eminent and noble persons of Baghdad. Having made enquiries, he went in, entered the circle in front of Ya'qúb, greeted him, and said, "I desire to study somewhat of the science of the stars with our Master." "Thou hast come from the East to slay me on a pretence of studying Astrology," replied Ya'qúb, "but thou wilt repent of thine intention, study the stars, and

[1] Neither the meaning nor the wording of this sentence is clear to me. L. has شرایط خبی و ضمیر بعمل آورد'. For خبی A. and B. have جی or حبی, the reading being uncertain.

[2] Some sort of garment seems to be meant, but neither the reading nor the meaning is clear. L. has 'و دو پارهٔ را فتات کنم; A., 'دو پاقتابه کنم; B., 'دو بافتابه کنم.

[3] Literally, "of the Banú Háshim."

attain perfection in that science, and wilt become one of the greatest Astrologers in the Church of Muḥammad (on whom be God's Blessing and Peace)." All the great men there assembled were astonished; and Abú Ma'shar[1] confessed and produced the knife from the middle of the book, broke it, and cast it away. Then he bent his knees and studied for fifteen years, until he reached that eminence which he reached in Astrology.

Anecdote xxiii.

It is stated that once when Sulṭán Maḥmúd b. Náṣiru'd-Dín[2] was sitting on the roof of a four-doored summer-house in Ghazna, in the Garden of a Thousand Trees, he turned his face to Abú Rayḥán[3] and said, "By which of these four doors shall I go out?" (for all four were practicable) "Decide, and write the decision on a piece of paper, and put it under my quilt." Abú Rayḥán called for an astrolabe, took the altitude, worked out the ascendant, reflected for a while, and then wrote down his decision on a piece of paper, and placed it under the quilt. "Hast thou decided?" asked Maḥmúd. He answered, "Yes."

Then Maḥmúd bade them make an opening in the wall, and they brought mattocks and spades, and in the wall which was on the eastern side dug out a fifth door, through which he went out. Then he bade them bring the paper. So they brought it, and on it was written: "He will go out through none of these four doors, but they will dig a fifth door on the side of the eastern wall, by which door he will go forth." Maḥmúd, on reading this, was furious, and bade them cast Abú Rayḥán down from the midst of the palace. So they did even as he had said. Now

[1] See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litteratur*, pp. 221, 222.

[2] i.e. the great Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazna (reigned A.H. 388-421, A.D. 998-1030).

[3] i.e. the celebrated al-Bírúní, of whom mention has been already made.

a net had been stretched here to keep off the flies,[1] and on it Abú Rayḥán fell. The net tore, and he subsided gently to the ground, so that he received no injury. "Bring him in," said Maḥmúd. So they brought him in, and Maḥmúd said: "O Abú Rayḥán, didst thou know this?" "I knew it, sire," he answered, and, taking the Almanac from the servant, produced the prognostications out of the Almanac;[2] and amongst the predictions for that day was written: "To-day they will cast me down from a high place, but I shall reach the earth in safety, and arise sound in body."

All this was not according to Maḥmúd's mind. He waxed still angrier, and ordered Abú Rayḥán to be detained in the citadel. So Abú Rayḥán was confined in the citadel of Ghazna, where he remained for six months. It is said that during that period of six months none dared speak to Maḥmúd about Abú Rayḥán, one of whose servants was, however, deputed to wait upon him, and to go out to get what he wanted, and to return therewith. One day this servant was passing through the Park of Ghazna,[3] when a fortune-teller called to him and said, "I perceive several things worth mentioning in your fortune: give me a present, that I may reveal them to you." The servant gave him two dirhams, whereupon the soothsayer said: "One dear to thee is in affliction, but ere three days are past he will be delivered from that affliction, will be invested with a robe of honour, and will again be loaded with honours and favours."

The servant proceeded to the citadel, and told this incident to his master as a piece of good tidings. Abú

[1] This seems to be the meaning of L.'s reading: مگر راه مگس‌را دامی بسته بودند. A. and B. are illegible. The former seems to have, مگر تا سام سایکش‌را دامی . . ; the latter, مگر تا شام سایکس‌را دامی . . واسی . .

[2] و تحویل از میان تقویم بیرون کرد

[3] بسر مرغزار غزنین . .

Rayḥán smiled and said, "O foolish fellow, dost thou not know that on such occasions one ought not to stand still? Thou hast informed me too late."[1] It is said that the Prime Minister Aḥmad Ḥasan of Maymand (may God be merciful to him!) was for six months seeking an opportunity to say a word on behalf of Abú Rayḥán. At length, when engaged in the chase, he found the King in a good humour, and, working from one topic to another, he brought the conversation round to Astrology. Then he said: "Poor Abú Rayḥán uttered two such good prognostications, and instead of decorations and a robe of honour obtained bonds and imprisonment." "Know, my lord," replied Maḥmúd, "for I have proved it,[2] that this man is said to have no equal in the world save Abú 'Alí Síná (Avicenna), but both his prognostications were opposed to my will; and kings are like little children[3]—in order to receive rewards from them, one should speak in accordance with their opinion. It would have been better for him on that day if one of those two prognostications had been wrong. But to-morrow order him to be brought forth, and to be given a horse caparisoned with gold, a royal robe, a satin turban, a thousand dínárs, a slave, and a handmaiden."

So, on the very day specified by the soothsayer, they brought forth Abú Rayḥán, and the gift of honour detailed above was conferred upon him, and the King apologized to him, saying: "If thou desirest always to reap advantage from me, speak according to my desire, not according to the dictates of thy science." So thereafter Abú Rayḥán altered his practice; and this is one of the conditions of the service of kings, that one must be with them in right or wrong, and speak according to their wish.

Now when Abú Rayḥán reached his house, the learned

[1] Instead of this sentence A. has: "Thou hast wasted two dirhams."

[2] I follow L., which reads: 'بدان ای خواجه و من یافته ام. A. has: 'خواجه بدان که من ندانسته ام

[3] A. omits this simile.

came to congratulate him. He related to them the incident of the soothsayer, whereat they were amazed, and sent to summon him. They found him most illiterate, knowing nothing. Then Abú Rayḥán said, "Hast thou the horoscope of thy nativity?" "I have," replied he. Then Abú Rayḥán examined it, and the Share of the Unseen fell directly on the degree of his Ascendant,[1] so that whatever he said, though he spoke blindly, came near to the truth.

Anecdote xxiv.

I had in my employment a woman-servant, who was born on the 28th of Ṣafar, A.H. 510[2] (=July 12th, A.D. 1116), when the Moon was in conjunction with the Sun and there was no distance between them, so that both the Share of Fortune and the Share of the Unseen fell on the degree of the Ascendant. When she reached the age of fifteen years, I taught her Astrology, in which she became so skilful that she could answer difficult questions in this science, and her prognostications came very near the truth. Ladies used to come to her and question her, and the most part of what she said coincided with the pre-ordained decrees of fate.

One day an old woman came and said: "It is now four years since a son of mine went on a journey, and I have no news of him, neither of his life nor of his death. See whether, wherever he may be, he is of the living or the dead." So the woman-astrologer arose, took the altitude, worked out the degree of the Ascendant, drew out an astrological table, and determined the positions of the stars; and the very first words she said were, "Thy son hath returned!"

The old woman was annoyed and said: "O child, I have no hopes of my son's coming: tell me this much, is he alive or dead?"

[1] . . سهم الغیبش بر حاقّ درجهٔ طالع افتاده بود

[2] A. has "512."

"I tell you," said the other, "thy son hath come. Go, and, if he hath not come, return, that I may tell thee how he is."

So the old woman went to her house, and lo! her son had arrived and was unloading his asses. She embraced him, took off her veil, and came back to the woman-astrologer, saying, "Thou didst speak truly; my son hath come, bringing presents"; and she gave her her blessing. When I came home and heard tidings of this, I enquired of her, "By what didst thou speak, and from what House didst thou deduce this prognostication?" She answered: "I had not reached so far as this. When I had finished the figure of the Ascendant, he came in and sat down on the letter of the degree of the Ascendant, wherefore it so seemed in my mind, that this young man had returned. When I said so, and the mother had gone to find out, it became so certain to me that it was as though I actually saw him unloading his asses."

Then I perceived that it was the Share of the Unseen, and nothing else but this, which thus influenced the degree of the Ascendant.

Anecdote XXV.

Maḥmúd Dá'údí, the son of Abu'l-Qásim Dá'údí, was a great fool, nay, almost a madman, and had no considerable knowledge as to the actions of the stars; yet he could cast a nativity, and in his notebook were figures declaring "it is" or "it is not." He was in the service of Amír Dá'úd Abú Bakr Mas'úd at Panj-dih; and his prognostications generally came right.

Now his madness was such that when my master the King of the Mountains sent him a pair of Ghúrí dogs, very large and formidable, he fought with them of his own free-will, and escaped from them in safety. Years afterwards we were sitting with a number of persons of learning in the Perfumers' Market at Herát, in the shop of Muqrí

the surgeon-druggist,[1] and discussing all manner of subjects. One of these learned men happening to remark, "What a great man was Avicenna (Ibn Síná)!" I saw Dá'údí fly into a passion, all the possession of anger appearing in and overcoming him, and he cried: "O so-and-so, who was Abú 'Alí? I regard myself as equal in worth to a thousand Abú 'Alí's, for he never even fought with a cat, whilst I fought before Amír Dá'úd with two dogs." So on that day I knew him to be mad; yet for all his madness I witnessed the following occurrence.

In the year A.H. 505[2] (A.H. 1111–1112), when Sulṭán Sanjar encamped in the Plain of Khúzán,[3] on his way to Transoxania to fight with Muḥammad,[4] Amír Dá'úd attached himself to the King, and made a great entertainment for him. On the third day the King came to the river-brink, and entered a boat to amuse himself with fishing. In the boat he summoned Dá'údí before him to talk after the manner of madmen, while he laughed, for Dá'údí would openly abuse Amír Dá'úd.

Presently the King said to him, "Prognosticate how many maunds the fish which I shall catch this time will weigh." Dá'údí said, "Draw up your hook." So the king drew it up; and he took the altitude, paused for a while, and then said, "Now cast it." The King cast, and he said, "I prognosticate that this fish which you will draw out will weigh five maunds." "O knave," said Amír Dá'úd, "whence should fish of five maunds' weight come into this stream?" "Be silent," said Dá'údí; "what do you know about it?" So Amír Dá'úd was silent, fearing that, should he insist further, he would only get abuse.

[1] The readings differ here. L. has . . بدکان مقری عطّار طبیب . A., B. have . . بر دکان مقری حدّاد طبیب .

[2] A. has 508.

[3] See Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, pp. 215, 216. A. reads *Kház*, B. *Kházá*.

[4] Apparently his brother, Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Abú Shujá' Muḥammad the Seljúq is meant. He reigned A.H. 498–511 (A.D. 1104–1117).

Suddenly there was a pull on the line, indicating that a fish had been taken captive. The King drew in the line with a very large fish on it, which, when weighed, scaled five[1] maunds. All were amazed, and expressed their astonishment. "Dá'údí," said the King, "what dost thou wish for?" "O King," said he with an obeisance, "of all that is on this earth I desire but a coat of mail, a shield, and a spear, that I may do battle with Báwardí." And this Abáwardí was the Captain of Amír Dá'úd's gate, and Dá'údí entertained towards him a fanatical hatred, because the title of Shujá'u'l-Mulk had been conferred upon him, while Dá'údí himself bore the title of Shujá'u'l-Ḥukamá, and grudged that the other should be so entitled. And the Amír, well knowing this, used continually to embroil Dá'údí with him, and this good Musulmán was at his wits' end by reason of him.

In short, as to Maḥmúd Dá'údí's madness there was no doubt, and I have mentioned this matter in order that the King may know that folly and insanity are amongst the conditions of this craft.

Anecdote xxvi.

Ḥakím-i-Mawṣilí was one of the order of Astrologers in Níshápúr, and was in the service of that great Minister Nidhámu'l-Mulk of Ṭús, who used to consult with him on matters of importance, and seek his advice and opinion. Now when Mawṣilí's years were drawing to a close, and great decrepitude appeared in him, and feebleness of body began to show itself, so that he was no longer able to perform these long journeys, he asked the Minister's permission to go and reside at Níshápúr, and to send thence annually the almanac and forecast for the year.

Now the Minister Nidhámu'l-Mulk was also in the decline of life and near the term of existence; and he said: "Look

[1] A. has "six."

so much at the lapse of my life as to observe when the dissolution of my elemental nature will occur, and at what epoch that inevitable fate and unavoidable sentence will befal."

Ḥakím-i-Mawṣilí answered, "Six months after my death." So the Minister ordered him to receive all things needful for his comfort, and Mawṣilí went to Níshápúr, and there abode in ease, sending each year the forecast and calendar. And whoever came to the Minister from Níshápúr, he used first to enquire, "How is Mawṣilí?" And so soon as he had news of his safety, he would become joyous and cheerful.

At length, in the year A.H. 485 (= A.D. 1092–3), one arrived from Níshápúr, and the Minister enquired of him concerning Mawṣilí. The man replied, with an obeisance: "May he who holdeth the chief seat in al-Islám be the heir of many lifetimes! Mawṣilí hath quitted this mortal body." "When?" enquired the Minister. "In the middle of Rabí' the First" (April 11–May 11, A.D. 1092), answered the man, "he yielded up his life for him who sitteth in the chief seat of al-Islám."

The Minister thereat was mightily put about, and was warned, and looked into all his affairs, and confirmed all his pious endowments, and gave effect to his bequests,[1] and wrote his last testament, and set free such of his slaves as had earned his approval, and discharged the debts which he owed, and, so far as lay in his power, made all men content with him, and sought forgiveness from his adversaries, and made his will, and so sat awaiting his fate until the month of Ramaḍán (A.H. 485 = Oct. 5–Nov. 4, A.D. 1092), when he fell a martyr at the hands of that Sect (i.e. the Assassins); may God make illustrious his Proof, and accord him an ample Approval!

Since the Ascendant ruling his nativity, the observation, the Lord of the Sign, and the dominant factor were rightly

[1] A., which I follow, has: توقیع کرد (L. اوزاررا) ادرارات‌را

determined, and the Astrologer was expert and accomplished, naturally the prognostication came true.[1]

Anecdote xxvii.

In the year A.H. 506 (A.D. 1112–1113) Khwája Imám 'Umar Khayyám[2] and Khwája Imám Mudhaffar-i-Isfizárí had alighted in the city of Balkh, in the street of the Slave-sellers, in the house of Amír Abú Sa'd,[3] and I had joined that assembly. In the midst of our convivial gathering I heard that Argument of Truth (*Ḥujjatu'l-Ḥaqq*) 'Umar say, "My grave will be in a spot where the trees will shed their blossoms on me twice in each year." This thing seemed to me impossible, though I knew that one such as he would not speak idle words.

When I arrived at Níshápúr in the year A.H. 530 (A.D. 1135–6), it being then some years since that great man had veiled his countenance in the dust, and this lower world had been bereaved of him, I went to visit his grave on the eve of a Friday (seeing that he had the claim of a master on me), taking with me a guide to point out to me his tomb. So he brought me out to the Ḥíra[4] Cemetery; I turned to the left, and his tomb lay at the foot of a garden-wall, over which pear-trees and peach-trees thrust their heads, and on his grave had fallen so many flower-leaves that his dust was hidden beneath the flowers. Then I remembered that saying which I had heard from him

[1] I confess that these astrological terms are beyond me. Several of them (e.g. *hayláj* and *kadkhudá*) are explained in the section of the *Mafátíḥu'l-'ulúm* which treats of Astrology (ed. Van Vloten, pp. 225–232). The first part of the sentence runs:

چون طالع مولود و رصد و کدخدا و هیلاج درست بود . . .

[2] A. and B. have *Khayyámí*, the form usually found in Arabic books.

[3] A. adds جرّاه, while B. calls him بو سعید حرّه.

[4] So A., B., and L., but in the margin of the latter is the following gloss:

حیرت چو میری ایوان و طاق و رواق (برهان)

in the city of Balkh, and I fell to weeping, because on the face of the earth, and in all the regions of the habitable globe, I nowhere saw one like unto him. May God (blessed and exalted is He) have mercy upon him,[1] by His Grace and His Favour! Yet although I witnessed this prognostication on the part of that Proof of the Truth 'Umar, I did not observe that he had any great belief in astrological predictions; nor have I seen or heard of any of the great [scientists] who had such belief.[2]

Anecdote XXVIII.

In the winter of the year A.H. 508 (= A.D. 1114–1115) the King sent a messenger to Merv to the Prime Minister Sadru'd-Dín Muḥammad b. al-Mudhaffar (on whom be God's Mercy) bidding him tell Khwája Imám 'Umar to select a favourable time for him to go hunting, such that therein should be no snowy or rainy days. For Khwája Imám 'Umar was in the Minister's company, and used to lodge at his house.

So the Minister sent a messenger to summon him, and told him what had happened. The Khwája went and looked into the matter for two days, and made a careful choice; and he himself went and superintended the mounting of the King at the auspicious moment. When the King was mounted and had gone but a short distance,[3] the sky became overcast with clouds, a wind arose, and snow and mist supervened. All present fell to laughing, and the King desired to turn back; but Khwája Imám ['Umar] said: "Have no anxiety, for this very hour the clouds will clear away, and during these five days there will be not a drop of moisture." So the King rode on, and the clouds

[1] A. has: "cause him to dwell in Paradise."

[2] L. omits this last sentence.

[3] I suppose this to be the meaning of the words: و یک بانگ زمین برفت, which is the reading of all three texts.

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opened, and during those five days there was no moisture, and no one saw a cloud.

But prognostication by the stars, though a recognized art, is not to be relied on, and whatever the astrologer predicts he must leave to Fate.

Anecdote xxix.

It is incumbent on the King, wherever he goes, to prove such companions and servants as he has with him; and if one is a believer in the Holy Law, and scrupulously observes the rites and duties thereof, he should make him an intimate, and treat him with honour, and confide in him; but if otherwise, he should drive him away, and guard even the outskirts of his environment from his very shadow. Whoever does not believe in the religion and law of Muḥammad the Chosen One, in him can no man trust, and he is unlucky, both to himself and to his master.

In the beginning of the reign of the king Sulṭán Ghiyáthu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Maliksháh, styled Qasímu Amíri'l-Múminín (may God illuminate his proof!),[1] the King of the Arabs, Ṣadaqa,[2] revolted and withdrew his neck from the yoke of allegiance, and with fifty thousand Arab horsemen marched on Baghdad from Hilla. The Prince of Believers al-Mustaḍhhir bi'lláh had sent off letter after letter and courier after courier to Isfahán,[3] summoning the Sultan, who sought from the astrologers the determination of the auspicious moment. But no such determination could be made which would suit the Lord of the King's Ascendant, which was retrograde. So they said, "We find no auspicious moment." "Seek it, then," said he; and he was very urgent in the matter, and much vexed in mind. And so the astrologers fled.

[1] Reigned A.H. 498–511, A.D. 1104–1117.

[2] Cf. Houtsma's ed. of al-Bundárí's *History of the Seljúqs*, p. 185, where an Amír of this name is mentioned under the year A.H. 531.

[3] A. calls it *Sipáhán*.

Now there was a stranger of Jayy[1] who had a shop by the Gate of the Dome and who used to take omens; and men and women of every class used to visit him, and he used to write for them amulets and charms, but he had no profound knowledge. By means of an acquaintance with one of the King's servants he brought himself to the King's notice, and said: "I will find an auspicious moment: depart in that, and if thou dost not return victorious, then cut off my head."

So the King was pleased, and mounted his horse at the moment declared auspicious by him, and gave him two hundred dínárs of Níshápúr, and went forth, fought with Ṣadaqa, defeated his army, took him captive, and put him to death. And when he returned triumphant and victorious to Isfahán, he heaped favours on the soothsayer, ordered him to receive great honours, and made him one of his intimates. Then he summoned the astrologers and said: "You did not find an auspicious moment, it was this stranger of Jayy who found it; and I went, and God justified the omen.[2] Probably Ṣadaqa had sent you a bribe so that you should not name the auspicious time." Then they all fell to the earth, lamenting and exclaiming: "The astrologers were not satisfied with that moment. If you wish, write a message and send it to Khurásán, and see what Khwája Imám 'Umar Khayyám says."

The King saw that the poor wretches did not speak amiss. He therefore summoned one of his courtiers and said: "Invite this stranger of Jayy[3] to your house, drink wine with him, and treat him with kindly familiarity; and, when he is overcome with wine, enquire of him, saying,

[1] A suburb of Isfahán, as is explained in a marginal gloss in L., which has this reading: غریب جی (printed in the text as one word, غریبجی). A. reads غزنوی and B. غربوی.

[2] A. adds "Wherefore did ye act thus?"

[3] L. is constant in this reading, but here A. has غربنجی را and B. غرانچی را.

'Was that moment determined by thee not good? For the astrologers find fault with it. Tell me the secret of this.'"

Then the courtier did so, and, when his guest was drunk, made this enquiry of him. The soothsayer answered: "I knew that one of two things must happen; either that army would be defeated, or this one. If the former, then I should be loaded with honours; and if the latter, how should the King concern himself with me?"

Next day the courtier reported this conversation to the King, who ordered the strange soothsayer to be expelled, because one who held such views about good Musulmáns was unlucky. Then[1] the King summoned his own astrologers and restored his confidence to them, saying: "I knew that this soothsayer never said his prayers, and one who agrees not with our Holy Law agrees not with us."

Anecdote XXX.

In the year A.H. 547 (A.D. 1152–3) a battle was fought between that king of blessed memory Sanjar b. Malikshán and my lord the king 'Alá'u'd-Dín wa'd-Dunyá; and the army of Ghúr was defeated, and my lord the King of the East was taken prisoner, and my lord's son the Just King Shamsu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín Maḥmúd b. Mas'úd was taken captive at the hands of the Commander-in-chief (*Amír-i-sipahsálár*). The ransom was fixed at fifty thousand dínárs of pure gold,[2] and a messenger from him was to go to the Court at Bámiyán to ask for this sum; and when it should be sent the Prince was to be released, while the King himself was granted his liberty by the Lord of the World (Sanjar), who, moreover, at the time of his departure from

[1] A. adds "they killed him, and . . . ."

[2] The words بر نقش هریوه are omitted in L. For this meaning of هریوه see Vüller's *Persian Lexicon*, s.v.

Herát, granted him a robe of honour; and it was under these circumstances that I arrived to wait upon him.[1]

One day, being extremely sad at heart, he signed to me, and enquired when this deliverance would finally be accomplished, and when this consignment would arrive. So I took an observation that day with a view to making this prognostication, and worked out the ascendant, exerting myself to the utmost, and [ascertained that] there was an indication of a satisfactory solution to the question on the third day. So next day I came and said: "To-morrow at the time of the first prayer the messenger will arrive." All that night the Prince was thinking about this matter. Next day I hastened to wait on him. "To-day," said he, "is the time fixed." "Yes," I replied; and continued with him till the first prayer. When the call to prayer was sounded, he remarked reproachfully: "The first prayer has arrived, but still no news!" Even while he was thus speaking, a courier arrived bringing the good tidings that the consignment had come, consisting of fifty thousand dínárs, sheep, and other things, and that 'Izzu'd-Dín Maḥmúd,[2] the steward of Prince Ḥusámu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín, was in charge of the convoy. My lord Shamsu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín was invested with the King's dress of honour, and very shortly regained his beloved home, and from that time his affairs have prospered more and more every day (may they continue so to do!). And thence it was that he used to treat me with the utmost kindness and say: "Nidhámí, do you remember making such a prognostication in Herát, and how it came true? I wanted to fill thy mouth with gold, but there I had no gold, though here

[1] The text is rather obscure here. It runs: و از جانب [جوانب] سلطان عالم او خود مطلق بود بوقت حرکت کردن از هرات تشریف [نامزد] کرده بود و من بنده درین حال بخدمت رسیدم.

[2] A. adds حاجی.

I have." Then he called for gold, and filled my mouth therewith till it would contain no more, whereupon he said, "Hold out thy sleeve." So I held it out, and he filled it also with gold. May God (blessed and exalted is He) maintain this dynasty in daily-increasing prosperity, and long spare these two Princes to my august Master, by His favour, bounty, and grace! Amen, O Lord of the Worlds!

Fourth Discourse.

On the Nature of the Science of Medicine, and the grades[1] *of Physicians.*

Medicine is that art whereby the health of the human body is preserved; whereby, when it wanes, it is restored; and whereby the body is embellished by long hair, a clean complexion, freshness and vigour.

Excursus.

The physician should be of tender disposition, of wise and gentle nature, and more especially an acute observer, capable of benefiting everyone by accurate diagnoses, that is to say, by rapid deduction of the unknown from the known. And no physician can be of tender disposition if he fails to recognize the nobility of man; nor of philosophical nature unless he knows Logic, nor an acute observer unless he be strengthened by God's guidance; and he who is not an acute observer will not arrive at a correct understanding of the cause of any ailment, for he must form his opinion from the pulse, which has a systole, a diastole, and a pause between these two movements.

Now here there is a difference of opinion amongst physicians, one school maintaining that it is impossible by palpation to gauge the movement of contraction; but

[1] For مراتب A. has هداية.

that most accomplished of the moderns, that talented man Abú 'Alí al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abdu'lláh Síná (Avicenna),[1] says in his book the *Qánún* that the movement of contraction also can be gauged, though with difficulty, in thin subjects;[2] and that the pulse is of two sorts, each of which is divided into three subordinate varieties, namely, its two extremes and its mean; but, unless the Divine guidance assist the physician in his search for the truth, his thought will not hit the mark. So also the examination of the urine, and the observing of its colour and peculiarities, and the deducing somewhat from each colour, is no easy matter; for these deductions are dependent on Divine help and Heavenly guidance; and this is the quality which we have already mentioned under the name of acumen. And unless the physician knows Logic, and understands the meaning of species and genus, he cannot discriminate between that which appertains to the category and that which is peculiar to the individual, and so will not recognize the cause of the disease. And, failing to recognize the cause, he will not succeed in his treatment. But let us now give an illustration, so that it may be known that it is as we say. Disease[3] is the genus; fever, cold, headache, dizziness, scarlet fever, and jaundice are the species, each of which is distinguished from the others by a diagnostic sign, while each itself is again divisible into varieties. For instance, 'Fever' is the genus, wherein quotidian, tertian, double tertian, quartan, and the sub-varieties of each, are distinguished from each other by a special diagnostic sign, so that, for instance, quotidian is distinguished from other

[1] See De Slane's translation of *Ibn Khallikán*, vol. i, pp. 440–446; von Kremer's *Culturgeschichte d. Orients*, vol. ii, pp. 455, 456; Wüstenfeld's *Gesch. d. Arab. Aerzte*, pp. 64–75, etc. The *Qánún* was printed at Rome, A.D. 1593.

[2] A. reads:

حرکت انقباض‌را در توان یافت بدشواری اندر تنها بی گوشت

This is no doubt the correct reading, not تنهائي گوشت as in B. and L.

[3] L. here has محض جنس آمد, instead of the correct reading of A., مرض.

fevers by the fact that the longest period thereof is a day and a night, and that in it there is no rigor, heaviness, lassitude, nor pain.[1] Again, inflammatory fever[2] is distinguished from other fevers by this, that when it lays hold of anyone it does not abate for several days; while tertian is distinguished by the fact that it comes one day and not the next; and double tertian by this, that one day it comes with a higher temperature and a shorter interval, and another day in a milder form with a longer interval; while, lastly, quartan is distinguished by this, that for two days it does not come and the third day it comes.

Each of these, again, comprises several varieties, and each of these in turn sundry sub-varieties; and if the physician be versed in Logic and possessed of acumen, he will know which fever it is, what the *materies morbi* is, and whether it is simple or compound, and he can then at once proceed to treat it; but if he fail to recognize the disease, then let him turn to God and seek help from Him; and so likewise, if he fail in his treatment, let him have recourse to God, seeing that the issue is in His hands.

Anecdote xxxi.

In the year A.H. 512,[3] in the Druggists' Bazaar of Níshápúr, at the shop of Muḥammad Ḍakhm the Physician,[4] I heard Khwája Imám Abú Bakr Daqqáq saying: "A certain man of Níshápúr[5] was seized with the colic and called me in. I examined him, and proceeded to treat him,

[1] ودرو تکسّر و گرانی وکاهلی و درد نباشد.

[2] تب مطبقه. See Schlimmer's *Terminologie Médico-Pharmaceutique* (lithographed at Tihrán, A.H. 1874), pp. 192–197 and 285. Perhaps, however, it should here be translated "remittent."

[3] A. has A.H. 502 (= A.D. 1108–9).

[4] The readings vary. A. has محمّد ضخم; B. محمّد صحیم; L. ضخم only.

[5] A. adds "in the year [A.H.] 502."

fulfilling the utmost of my endeavour in this matter; but no improvement in his health took place. Three days elapsed. At the time of evening prayer I returned, thinking that the patient would pass away at midnight. I went up on to the roof, but could hardly sleep for anxiety. In the morning when I awoke I said to myself, 'The patient will have passed away.' I turned my face in that direction, but heard no sound [of lamentation] which might indicate his passing. I repeated the *Fátiḥa*, and hastened in that direction, saying: 'O my God and my Lord, Thou Thyself hast said in the Sure Book and Indubitable Scripture, "*And we send down in the Qur'án what is a Healing and a Mercy to true believers.*"'[1] For I was filled with regret, seeing that he was a young man, and in easy circumstances. Then I performed the minor ablution, went to the oratory, and repeated the customary prayer. One knocked at the door of the house. When I went to look who was there, it was one of his household, who gave good tidings, saying, 'He hath passed out of danger'; and, on my enquiring when, added, 'Just now he obtained relief.' Then I knew that the patient had been relieved by the blessing of the *Fátiḥa* of the Scripture, and that this draught had been dispensed from the Divine Dispensary. For I have put this to the proof, administering this draught in many cases, in all of which it proved beneficial, and resulted in restoration to health."

Therefore the physician should be of good faith, and should venerate the commands and prohibitions of the Holy Law. And on the science of Medicine he should read the "Aphorisms" (*Fuṣúl*) of Hippocrates, the "Questions" (*Masá'il*) of Ḥunayn b. Isḥáq,[2] the "Guide" (*Murshid*) of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá of Ray (ar-Rází),[3] and Nílí's "Commentary"[4]; and after he has read and learned these

[1] Qur'án, xvii, 84.

[2] See Wüstenfeld's *Geschichte d. Arab. Aerzte*, No. 69, pp. 26–29. He was born A.H. 194 (A.D. 809), and died A.H. 260 (A.D. 873).

[3] Ibid.,.No. 98, pp. 40–49. He is known in Europe as Rasis or Rhases.

[4] For شرح نيلى A. has شرع نيلى.

volumes above enumerated with a kind and careful master, he should diligently study with a congenial teacher the following intermediate works, to wit, the "Thesaurus" (*Dhakhíra*) of Thábit b. Qurra, the *Manṣúrí*[1] of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá of Ray, the "Direction" (*Hidáya*) of the younger[2] Abú Bakr, or the "Sufficiency" (*Kifáya*) of Aḥmad Farrukh, or the "Aims" (*Aghráḍ*) of Sayyid Isma'íl Jurjání.[3] Then he should take up one of the more detailed treatises, such as the "Sixteen (Treatises," *Sitta 'ashar*) of Galen, or the "Compendium" (*Ḥáwí*) of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá, or the "Complete Practitioner" (*Kámilu'ṣ-Ṣanā'at*), or the "Hundred Chapters" (*Ṣad Báb*) of Abú Sahl Masíḥí,[4] or the *Qánún* of Abú 'Alí (Avicenna),[5] or the *Dhakhíra-i-Khwárazmsháhí*,[6] and read it in his leisure moments; or, if he desires to be independent of other works, he may content himself with the *Qánún*.

The Lord of the Two Worlds and the Guide of the Two Grosser Races says: "*Every kind of game is in the belly of the wild ass.*"[7] All this has been set forth by the *Qánún*, so that much may be effected therewith; and whoever has mastered the first volume of the *Qánún*, to him nothing will be hidden of the general principles and applications of Medicine, for if Hippocrates and Galen could return to life, it would be proper that they should do reverence to this book. Yet have I heard a wonderful thing, to wit, that one hath taken exception to Abú 'Alí in respect of this work,

[1] See Wüstenfeld, op. cit., p. 43, No. 2. The full title of the work is: كتاب الطبّ المنصورى.

[2] Or "later" (آخرين), but A. reads اخوين. I cannot identify this person.

[3] See Wüstenfeld, op. cit., No. 165, p. 95.

[4] Avicenna's master, d. A.H. 390 (A.D. 1000). See Wüstenfeld, loc. cit., pp. 59, 60, No. 118.

[5] See n. 1 on p. 107 *supra*.

[6] See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 466, 467.

[7] Meaning that every kind of game is inferior to the wild ass. It is said proverbially of anyone who excels his fellows. See Lane's *Arabic Lexicon*, p. 2357, s.v. فرأ.

and hath embodied his objections in a book, which he hath named "the Rectification of the Qánún"[1]; and it is as though I looked at both books, and perceived what a distinguished man the author of the first was, while the author of the second merits only censure. For what right has anyone to find fault with so great a man, when the very first question which he meets with in a book of his which he comes across is difficult to his comprehension? For four thousand years the physicians of antiquity travailed in spirit and melted their very souls in order to reduce the science of Medicine to some fixed order, yet could not effect this, until, after the lapse of this period, that absolute philosopher and most mighty thinker Aristotle portioned and parcelled out[2] Logic and Philosophy as in a balance, and measured them by the measure of analogy, so that all doubt and ambiguity departed from them, and they were established on a sure and critical basis. And during these fifteen centuries which have elapsed since his time, no philosopher has won to the inmost essence of his doctrine, nor travelled the high road of his pre-eminence, save that most excellent of the moderns, the Philosopher of the East and the West, the Proof of Islám,[3] Abú 'Alí b. 'Abdu'lláh b. Síná (Avicenna). He who finds fault with these two great men will have cast himself out from the company of the wise, ranked himself with madmen, and proved himself to be of the number of those who lack intelligence. May God (blessed and exalted is He) keep us from such stumblings and vain imaginings!

So, if the physician hath mastered the first volume of the *Qánún*, and hath attained to forty years of age, he will be worthy of confidence; and when he hath reached this degree, he should keep ever with him some of the smaller treatises

[1] اصلاح قانون.

[2] L. has منطق و حکمت صُرّه و نقد کرد. For صرّه و A. substitutes حدود. In the margin of L. صرّه is glossed as = جمع.

[3] A. has "the Proof of God unto His creatures."

composed by proved masters, such as the "Gift of Kings" (*Tuḥfatu'l-Mulúk*) of Muḥammad Zakariyyá [ar-Rází], or the *Kifáya* of Ibn Sandúna of Isfahán, or the "Provision against all sorts of error in Medical Treatment" (*Tadáruku anwá'i'l-khaṭá fi't-tadbíri'ṭ-ṭibbí*), of which Abú 'Alí (Avicenna) is the author; or the *Khafiyyu'l-'Alá'i*,[1] or the "Memoranda" (*Yádigár*) of Sayyid Isma'íl Jurjání.[2] For no reliance can be placed on the Memory, which is located in the posterior part of the brain, for it may delay to afford him assistance in carrying out these prescriptions.

Therefore every king who would choose a physician must see that these conditions which have been enumerated are found in him; for it is no light matter to commit one's life and soul into the hands of any ignorant quack, or to entrust the care of one's health to any reckless charlatan.

Anecdote xxxii.

Bukht-Yíshú',[3] a Christian of Baghdad, was a skilful physician and a true and tender man; and he was attached to the service of al-Ma'mún the Caliph. Now one of the children of Háshim, a kinsman of al-Ma'mún, was attacked with dysentery, and al-Ma'mún, being greatly attached to him, sent Bukht-Yíshú' to treat him. So he, for al-Ma'mún's sake, girded up his loins in service, and treated him in various ways, but to no purpose, for the case passed beyond his powers. So Bukht-Yíshú' was ashamed before al-Ma'mún; but al-Ma'mún said to him: "Be not ashamed, for thou didst fulfil thine utmost endeavour, but God Almighty doth not desire that it should succeed. Acquiesce in Fate, even as we have acquiesced." Bukht-Yíshú', seeing al-Ma'mún thus hopeless, replied: "One other remedy remains, and it is a perilous one; but, trusting to the fortune of the Prince of Believers, I will attempt it, and perchance God Most High may cause it to succeed."

[1] See Hájí Khalífa, No. 4,738.
[2] See Wüstenfeld, op. cit., p. 95, No. 165. He died A.H. 530.
[3] See Wüstenfeld, op. cit., p. 17, No. 30. Concerning this and similar names, see Noeldeke's *Geschichte d. Artakhshir-i-Pápakán*, p. 49, n. 4.

Now the patient was going to stool fifty or sixty times a day. So Bukht-Yíshú' prepared a purgative and administered it to him; and on the day whereon he took the purgative, his diarrhœa was still further increased; but next day it stopped. So the physicians asked him, "What hazardous treatment was that which thou didst adopt yesterday?" He answered: "The *materies morbi* of this diarrhœa was from the brain, and until it was dislodged from the brain the flux would not cease. I feared that if I administered a purgative the patient's strength might not be equal to the increased diarrhœa; but at length, when I plucked up heart, [I saw that] there was hope in giving the purgative, but none in withholding it. So I gave it, and God Most High vouchsafed a cure; and my opinion was justified, namely, that if the purgative were withheld, only the death of the patient was to be expected; but that if it were administered, there was a possibility of either life or death. Therefore, seeing that to give the purgative was the better course, I administered it."

Anecdote xxxiii.

The great Shaykh Abú 'Alí Síná (Avicenna) relates as follows in the "Book of the Origin and the Return" (*Kitábu'l-Mabdá wa'l-Ma'ád*), at the end of the section on Contingent Being:—

"A curious anecdote hath come to me which I have heard related.[1] A certain physician presented himself at the court of one of the House of Sámán, and was well received, and rose to so high a position of trust that he used to enter the women's apartments and feel the pulses of its carefully-guarded and closely-veiled inmates.

[1] L. has در کتاب مبدأ و معاد در آخر فصل امکان وجود نادرهٔ بمن رسید که شنودم. A. after نادرهٔ adds عن هذه النفس همیگوید که and reads . . که شنودم و رسید.

One day he was sitting with the King in the women's apartments in a place where it was impossible for any [other] male creature to pass. The King demanded food, and it was brought by the handmaidens. One of these presided over the table. As she was placing it on the ground, she bent down.[1] When she desired to stand upright again, she was unable to do so, but remained as she was, by reason of a rheumatic swelling of the joints.[2] The King turned to the physician and said, 'Cure her at once in whatever way you can.' Here was no opportunity for any physical method of treatment, since for such no appliances were available. So the physician bethought himself of a psychical treatment, and bade them remove the veil from her head, whereon she made a movement. Then he bade them remove her skirt,[3] whereon she raised her head and stood upright.

"'What method of procedure was this?' enquired the King. 'At that juncture,' replied the physician, 'a rheumatic swelling appeared in her joints. I bade them uncover her head, that perchance she might be ashamed, and might make some movement because this condition was displeasing to her. So the whole of her head and face was uncovered, and anger was apparent therein.[4] I then abandoned this, and ordered her skirt to be removed. She was filled with shame, and a flush of heat was produced within her, such that it dissolved the rheumatic humour. Then she stood upright, and, restored to her erect position, became sound once again.'

"Had this physician not been skilled in his art, he would never have thought of this treatment; and had he failed,

[1] For L.'s reading . . خوان بر زمین نهاد دو تو شد . A. has:—
خوان از سر خوانگهش فرو گرفت ' دو تو شد و بر زمین نهاد . .

[2] L. has ' بجهة ریح غلیظی که در مفاصل او حادث آمد.

[3] Literally "trousers," of the kind worn by women in the East.

[4] Instead of تغیّر پدید آمد (L.'s reading) A. has تغیّر نگرفت, "she underwent no change."

he would have forfeited the King's regard. Hence a knowledge of natural science[1] and an apprehension of its facts form a part of this subject."

Anecdote xxxiv.

Another of the House of Sámán, Amír Manṣúr b. Núḥ b. Naṣr,[2] became afflicted with an ailment which grew chronic, and remained established, and the physicians were unable to cure it. So the Amír Manṣúr sent messengers to summon Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá of Ray to treat him. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá came as far as the Oxus, but when he saw it he said: "I will not embark in the boat: God Most High saith, '*Do not cast yourselves into peril with your own hands*'[3]; and, again, it is surely a thing remote from wisdom voluntarily to place one's self in so hazardous a position." Ere the Amír's messenger had gone to Bukhárá and returned, he had composed the treatise entitled *Manṣúrí*.[4] So when a notable arrived with a special led-horse, bringing a message intermingled with promises of reward, he handed this *Manṣúrí* to him, saying: "I am this book, and by this book thou canst attain thine object, so that there is no need of me."

When the book reached the Amír he was in grievous suffering, wherefore he sent a thousand dínárs and one of his own private horses, saying: "Strive to move him by all these kind attentions, but, if they prove fruitless, bind his hands and feet, place him in the boat, and fetch him across." So, just as the Amír had commanded, they urgently entreated Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá, but to no purpose. Then they bound his hands and feet, placed him in the boat, and, when they had ferried him across the river, released him. Then they brought the led-horse, fully caparisoned, before him, and he mounted in the best

[1] So L., which reads طبیعی, but A. has طبع, "human nature."

[2] That is, Manṣúr I. who reigned A.H. 350–366 (A.D. 961–976). This anecdote is given in the *Akhláq-i-Jaláli* (ed. Lucknow, A.H. 1283), pp. 168–170.

[3] Qur'án. ii. v. 191.

[4] See n. 1 on p. 110 *supra*.

of humours, and set out for Bukhárá. And when they enquired of him, saying, "We feared to bring thee across the water lest thou shouldst cherish enmity against us, but thou didst not so, nor do we see thee vexed in heart," he replied: "I know that every year several thousand persons cross the Oxus without being drowned, and that I too should probably not be drowned; still, it was possible that I might perish, and if this had happened they would have continued till the Resurrection to say, 'A foolish fellow was Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá, in that, of his own free will, he embarked in a boat and so was drowned.' But when they bound me, I escaped all danger of censure; for then they would say, 'They bound the poor fellow's hands and feet, so that he was drowned.' Thus should I have been excused, not blamed, in case of my being drowned."

When they reached Bukhárá, he saw the Amír and began to treat him, exerting his powers to the utmost, but without relief to the patient. One day he came in before the Amír and said: "To-morrow I am going to try another method of treatment, but for the carrying out of it you will have to sacrifice such-and-such a horse and such-and-such a mule," the two being both animals of note, so that in one night they had gone forty parasangs.

So next day he took the Amír to the hot bath of Jú-yi-Múlíyán, outside the palace, leaving that horse and mule ready equipped and tightly girt in the charge of his own servant; while of the King's retinue and attendants he suffered not one to enter the bath. Then he brought the King into the middle of the hot bath, and poured over him warm water, after which he prepared a draught and gave it to him to drink. And he kept him there till such time as the humours in his joints were matured.

Then he himself went out and put on his clothes, and, taking a knife in his hand, came in, and stood for a while reviling the King, saying: "Thou didst order me to be bound and cast into the boat, and didst conspire against my life. If I do not destroy thee as a punishment for this, I am not Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá!"

The Amír was furious, sprang from his place, and, partly from anger, partly from fear of the knife and dread of death, rose to his feet. When Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá saw the Amír on his feet, he turned round and went out from the bath, and he and his servant mounted, the one the horse, the other the mule, and turned their faces towards the Oxus. At the time of the second prayer they crossed the river, and halted nowhere till they reached Merv. When Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá reached Merv, he alighted, and wrote a letter to the Amír, saying: "May the life of the King be prolonged in health of body and effective command! According to agreement this servant treated his master, doing all that was possible. There was, however, an extreme weakness in the natural caloric, and the treatment of the disease by ordinary means would have been a protracted affair. I therefore abandoned it, and carried you to the hot bath for psychical treatment, and administered a draught, and left you so long as to bring about a maturity of the humours. Then I angered the King, so that an increase in the natural caloric was produced, and it gained strength until those humours, already softened, were dissolved. But henceforth it is not expedient that a meeting should take place between myself and the King."

Now after the Amír had risen to his feet and Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá had gone out, the Amír sat down and at once fainted. When he came to himself he went forth from the bath and called to his servants, saying, "Where has the physician gone?" They answered, "He came out from the bath, and mounted the horse, while his attendant mounted the mule, and went off."

Then the Amír knew what object he had had in view. So he came forth on his own feet from the hot bath; and tidings of this ran through the city, and his servants and retainers and people rejoiced greatly, and gave alms, and offered sacrifices, and held high festival. But they could not find the physician, seek him as they might. And on the seventh day Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá's servant

arrived, riding the horse and leading the mule, and presented the letter. The Amír read it, and was astonished, and excused him, and sent him a horse, and a robe of honour, and equipment, and a cloak, and arms, and a turban, and a male slave, and a handmaiden; and further commanded that there should be assigned to him in Ray from the estates of al-Ma'mún[1] a yearly allowance of two[2] thousand dínárs and two hundred ass-loads of corn. These marks of honour he forwarded to him by the hand of a trusty messenger, together with his apologies. So the Amír completely regained his health, and Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá attained his object.

Anecdote XXXV.

Ma'mún Khwárazmsháh[3] had an accomplished Minister named Abu'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. He was a man of learning and a friend of scholars, and consequently many philosophers and men of erudition, such as Abú 'Alí b. Síná, Abú Sahl Masíḥí, Abu'l-Ḥasan Khammár, Abú Naṣr 'Arráq, and Abú Rayḥán [al-Bírúní],[4] gathered about his court.

Now Abú Naṣr 'Arráq was the nephew of Khwárazmsháh, and in all branches of the exact sciences he was second only to Ptolemy the Philosopher; while Abú 'Alí [b Síná] and Abú Sahl Masíḥí were the successors of Aristotle[5] in

[1] The text has از املاک مأمون, but perhaps the last word is to be taken as meaning "settled," "tranquil."

[2] So in L., and so corrected in A. from "twelve thousand."

[3] See p. viii of the Preface to Sachau's translation of al-Bírúní's *Chronology of the Ancient Nations*, and the same scholar's article *Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Chwarezm* in the *Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie* for 1873.

[4] The first, second, and last of these learned men have been already mentioned. The third is probably Abu'l-Khayr al-Ḥasan . . . Ibnu'l-Khammár (Wüstenfeld's *Geschichte d. Arab. Aerzte*, No. 115, pp. 58, 59), who died A.H. 381 (A.D. 991).

[5] The texts have "of Aristú and Aristáṭálís," as though they were two different persons, instead of two forms of the same name.

the science of Philosophy, which includes all sciences; and Abu'l-Ḥasan Khammár was the third after Hippocrates and Galen in the science of Medicine. And all these were, in this their service, independent of worldly cares, and maintained with one another familiar intercourse and pleasant correspondence.

But Fortune, as is its custom, disapproved of this; though the King would not willingly have destroyed this happiness of theirs, or brought these pleasant days to an end. So a notable arrived from Sulṭán Maḥmúd Yamínu'd-Dawla with a letter, whereof the purport was as follows: "I have heard that there are in attendance on Khwárazmsháh several men of learning, each unrivalled in his science, such as So-and-so and So-and-so. You must send them to my court, so that they may attain the honour of attendance thereat. We rely on being enabled to profit by their knowledge and skill, and request this favour on the part of Khwárazmsháh."

Now the bearer of this message was Khwája Ḥusayn 'Alí Míká'íl, who was one of the most accomplished men of his age, and the wonder of his time amongst his contemporaries, while the prosperity of Sulṭán Yamínu'd-Dawla continued ever on the increase in the zenith of dominion and empire, and the kings of the time used to treat him with every respect and do him homage, and night and day lay down in fear of him. So Khwárazmsháh entertained Ḥusayn 'Alí Míká'íl in the best of lodgings, and ordered him to be supplied with all materials suitable for a prolonged stay; but, before according him an audience, he summoned the philosophers and laid before them the King's letter, saying: "The King is strong, and has a large army recruited from Khurásán and India; and he covets 'Iráq. I cannot refuse to obey his order, or be disobedient to his mandate. What say ye on this matter?"

They answered, "We cannot abandon thy service, nor will we in any wise go to him." But Abú Naṣr and Abu'l-Ḥasan and Abú Rayḥán were eager to go, having heard accounts of the King's munificent gifts and presents. Then

said Khwárazmsháh, "I will summon you before me,[1] and do you take your own way." Then he equipped Abú 'Alí [b. Síná] and Abú Sahl, and arranged a plan for them, and sent with them a guide, and they set off through the desert towards Mázandarán.

Next day Khwárazmsháh accorded Ḥusayn 'Alí Míká'íl an audience, and heaped on him all sorts of compliments. "I have read the letter," said he, "and have acquainted myself with its contents and with the King's command. Abú 'Alí and Abú Sahl are gone, but I will provide equipment for Abú Naṣr and Abú Rayḥán and Abu'l-Ḥasan,[2] so that they may enjoy the honour of entering that August Presence." So in a little while he provided their outfit, and despatched them in the company of Khwája Ḥusayn Míká'íl to Balkh. So they came into the presence of Sulṭán Yamínu'd-Dawla, and joined the King's Court.

Now it was Abú 'Alí [b. Síná] whom the King chiefly desired. He commanded Abú Naṣr the painter to draw his portrait on paper, and he ordered the other artists to make forty copies of the portrait, and these he despatched in all directions, placing them in the hands of persons of note, to whom he said, "There is a man after this likeness, whom they call Abú 'Alí b. Síná. Seek him out and send him to me."

Now when Abú 'Alí and Abú Sahl departed from Khwárazmsháh,[3] ere morning came they had travelled fifteen parasangs. When it was morning they alighted at a place where there were wells, and Abú 'Alí took up an astrological table to see under what ascendant they had started on their journey. "We shall lose our way," said he, "and experience hardships." Said Abú Sahl: "We acquiesce in God's decree. Indeed, I know that I shall not come safely through this journey, for in these two days

[1] L.'s reading is: شمارا پیش خوانم. A. adds the words دو ترک after شما.

[2] Here and elsewhere A. has *Ḥusayn* for *Ḥasan*.

[3] So A. L. has "Khwárazm."

the passage of the degree of my ascendant reaches Capricorn, and that is decisive,[1] so that no hope remains to me. Henceforth our intercourse of souls is at an end."[2]

Then a wind arose and clouds gathered. Abú 'Alí relates as follows. On the fourth day a dust-storm arose, and the world was darkened. They lost their way, for the wind had obliterated the tracks. When the wind lulled, their guide was a thousand times more astray than before; no water was obtainable; and, by reason of the heat of the desert of Khwárazm, Abú Sahl Masíḥí passed away to the World of Eternity. The guide turned back, while Abú 'Alí, with a thousand hardships and difficulties, reached Abíward, whence he went to Ṭús, and finally happened on Níshápúr.

There he found a number of persons who were seeking for Abú 'Alí. He alighted in a quiet spot, where he abode several days, and thence he turned his face towards Gurgán. Qábús,[3] who was king of that province, was a great and accomplished man, and a friend to men of learning. Abú 'Alí knew that there no harm would befal him. When he reached Gurgán, he alighted at a caravanseray. One day a person fell sick in his neighbourhood. Abú 'Alí treated him, and he got better. It is related that Abú 'Alí continued to live in Gurgán,[4] and that his income became considerable and went on increasing day by day. Some time elapsed thus, until one of the relatives of Qábús fell sick. The physicians set themselves to treat him, striving and exerting themselves to the utmost, but the disease was not cured. Now Qábús was greatly attached

[1] The text has که تسییر درجهٔ طالع من درین دو روز بعیّوق میرسد وآن [واو A.] قاطع است. The term *tasyír* is explained at p. 230 of Van Vloten's ed. of the *Mafátiḥu'l-'ulúm*.

[2] This last sentence is in A. only.

[3] Qábús b. Washmgír Shamsu'l-Ma'álí, reigned A.H. 366–371 and again A.H. 388–403. To him al-Bírúní dedicated his *Chronology of Ancient Nations*. See Sachau's English translation of that work, Preface, p. viii.

[4] For L.'s reading در گرگان بزیست A. has همی نگریست.

to him. So one of the servants of Qábús did obeisance before him and said: "Into such-and-such a caravanseray hath entered a young man who is a physician, and whose efforts are singularly blessed, so that several persons have been cured at his hands." So Qábús bade them seek him out and bring him to the patient.

So they sought out Abú 'Alí and brought him to the sick man. He saw a youth of comely countenance, whereon the hair had scarcely begun to show itself, and of symmetrical proportions. He sat down, felt his pulse, asked to see his urine, inspected it, and said, "I want a man who knows all the districts and the quarters of this province." So they brought one; and Abú 'Alí placed his hand on the patient's pulse, and bade the other mention the names of the different quarters and districts of Gurgán. So the man began, and continued until he reached the name of a quarter at the mention of which, as he uttered it, the patient's pulse gave a strange flutter. Then Abú 'Alí said, "Now I must have someone who knows all the streets in this quarter." They brought such an one. "Repeat," said Abú 'Alí, "the names of all the houses in this district." So he repeated them till he reached the name of a house at the mention of which the patient's pulse gave the same flutter. "Now," said Abú 'Alí, "I want someone who knows all the households." They brought such an one, and he began to repeat them until he reached a name at the mention of which that same strange flutter was apparent.

Then said Abú 'Alí, "It is finished." Thereupon he turned to the confidential advisers of Qábús, and said: "This lad is in love with such-and-such a girl, in such-and-such a house, in such-and-such a street, in such-and-such a quarter: the girl's face is the patient's cure." The patient, who was listening, heard what was said, and in shame hid his face beneath the clothes. When they made enquiries, it was even as Abú 'Alí had said.[1] Then they

[1] Compare the precisely similar narrative in the first story of the first book of the *Mathnawí* of Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí, and also a passage in the section of the *Dhakhíra-i-Khwárazmshahi* (Book vi, Guftár i, Juz' 2, ch. 3), of which this

reported this matter to Qábús, who was amazed thereat and said, "Bring him before me." So Abú 'Alí b. Síná was brought before Qábús.

Now Qábús had a copy of Abú 'Alí's portrait, which Yamínu'd-Dawla had sent to him. "Why, here is Abú 'Alí!" exclaimed he. "Yes, O most puissant Prince," replied the other. Then Qábús came down from his throne, advanced several paces to meet Abú 'Alí, embraced him, conversed genially with him, sat down beside him, and said, "O greatest and most accomplished philosopher of the world, explain to me the rationale of this treatment!" "O Sire," answered Abú 'Alí, "when I inspected his pulse and urine, I became convinced that his complaint was love, and that he had fallen thus sick through keeping his secret. Had I enquired of him, he would not have told me; so I placed my hand on his pulse while they repeated in succession the names of the different quarters, and when it came to the name of the quarter of his beloved, love moved him, and his heart was stirred, so that I knew she was a dweller in that quarter. Then I enquired the streets, and when I reached the street in question that same movement occurred, and I knew that she dwelt in that street. Then I enquired the names of the households in that street, and the same phenomenon occurred when the house of his beloved was named, so that I knew the house also. Then they made mention of the names of its inhabitants, and when he heard the name of his beloved, he was greatly affected, so that I knew the name of his sweetheart also. Then I told him my conclusion, and he could not deny it, but was compelled to confess the truth."

is a translation:—"Now the lover's pulse is variable and irregular, especially when he sees the object of his affections, or hears her name, or gets tidings of her. In this way one can discover, in the case of one who conceals his love and the name of his beloved, who is the object of his passion, and that in the following way. The physician should place his finger on the patient's pulse, and unexpectedly order the names of those persons amongst whom it may be surmised that his sweetheart is to be found to be repeated, whereupon it will appear from the patient's behaviour who his beloved is, and what her name is. Avicenna (upon whom be God's Mercy) says: 'I have tried this plan, and have succeeded by it in finding out who the beloved object was.'"

Qábús was greatly astonished, and indeed there was good reason for astonishment. "O most eminent and most excellent philosopher of the world," said he, "both the lover and the beloved are the children of my sisters, and are cousins to one another. Choose, then, an auspicious moment that I may unite them in marriage." So the Master [Avicenna] chose a fortunate hour, and in it they were united, and that prince was cured of the ailment which had brought him to death's door. And thereafter Qábús maintained Abú 'Alí in the best manner possible, and thence he went to Ray, and finally became minister to 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, as is well known in history.

Anecdote xxxvi.

The author of the *Kámilu'ṣ-Ṣaná'at*[1] was physician to 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla[2] in Párs, in the city of Shíráz. Now in that city there was a porter who used to carry loads of four hundred and five hundred maunds on his back. And every five or six months he would be attacked by headache, and become restless, remaining so for ten[3] days and nights. One time he was attacked by headache, and when seven or eight days had elapsed, he several times determined to destroy himself. At length one day this physician passed by the door of his house. The porter's brother ran to meet him, did reverence to him, and, conjuring him by God Most High, told him his brother's condition. "Bring him to me," said the physician. So they called him before the physician, who saw that he was a big man, of bulky frame, wearing on his feet a pair of shoes each of which weighed a maund and a half. Then the physician asked for and examined his urine; after which, "Bring him with me into the open country," said

[1] See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, p. 237, No. 19. His name was 'Alí b. al-'Abbás al-Majúsí, and he died A.H. 384 (A.D. 994).

[2] The second prince of the House of Buwayh, reigned A.H. 338–372 (A.D. 949–982).

[3] So A., but L. has "two."

he. They did so. On their arrival there, he bade his servant take the turban from his head, and cast it round his neck. Then he ordered another servant to take the shoes off the porter's feet and kick him on the back of the neck. The porter's sons wept, but the physician was a man of consideration, so that they could say nothing. Then the physician ordered his servant to throw the turban round his neck, to mount his horse, and to make the porter run round the plain. The servant did as he was bid. Blood began to flow from the porter's nostrils. "Now," said the physician, "let him alone, that the blood may flow from him, for he stinketh worse than a corpse." The man fell asleep amidst the blood which flowed from his nose, and three hundred dirhams' weight of blood escaped from his nostrils. They bore him thence, and he slept for a day and a night, and his headache passed away and never again returned.

Then 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla questioned the physician as to the rationale of this treatment. "O King," he replied, "for some while the blood had coagulated[1] in his head, and it was impossible to relieve this congestion by means of belladonna,[2] so I devised another treatment, which proved successful."

Anecdote xxxvii.

Melancholia is a disease which physicians often fail to treat successfully, for, though all melancholic diseases are chronic, melancholia is a pathological condition which is [especially] slow to pass.

[1] Perhaps "coagulated" is too strong a word for افسرده, and we should rather translate "for some while he had suffered from congestion of the head" or "cerebral congestion."

[2] فقيرا [A., B. با بارج [يارج. The word بارج, explained as = سگ انگور or عنب الثعلب, seems to mean belladonna. The word فقيرا I do not understand.

Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyá, in his work entitled the "Hippocratic Therapeutics" (*Mu'álaja-i-Buqráṭi*),[1] a book the like of which hath been composed by no one on the Art of Medicine, hath reckoned up the leaders of thought, sages, physicians, scholars, and philosophers who have been afflicted by this disease, for there were many of them; and he continues thus:—

"My master Abú Ja'far b. Muḥammad Abú Sa'd[2] al-Nashawí, commonly known as Ṣarakh,[3] related to me," says he, "on the authority of the Imám Shaykh Muḥammad b. al-'Aqíl al-Qazwíní, on the authority of the Amír Fakhru'd-Dawla Kálinjár the Buwayhid, that one of the princes of the House of Buwayh was attacked by melancholy, and was in such wise affected by the disease that he imagined himself to have been transformed into a cow. Every day he would low like a cow, causing annoyance to everyone, and saying, 'Kill me, so that a good stew may be prepared from my flesh'; until matters reached such a pass that he would eat nothing, and the physicians were unable to do him any good.

"Now at this juncture Abú 'Alí (Avicenna) was prime minister, and the king 'Alá'u'd-Dawla Muḥammad b. Washmgír had the fullest confidence in him, and had entrusted into his hands all the affairs of the kingdom, and placed under his judgment and discretion all matters. And, indeed, since Alexander the Great, whose minister was Aristotle, no king had such a minister as Abú 'Alí. And during the time that he was minister, he used to rise up every morning before dawn and write a couple of pages of the *Shifá*.[4] Then, when the true dawn appeared, he

[1] See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d Arab. Litt.*, p. 237, where his name is given as Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí b. Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭabarí. He was court physician to the Buwayhid prince Ruknu'd-Dawla about A.H. 360 (A.D. 970). MSS. of the work cited exist at Oxford, Munich, and in the India Office.

[2] A. has Sa'dí.

[3] So all texts, صرخ.

[4] One of Avicenna's most celebrated works. See the *British Museum Arabic Catalogue*, p. 745*a*, and the *Supplement* to the same, No. 711, pp. 484, 485.

used to give audience to his disciples, such as Kiyá Ra'ís Bahmanyár, Abú Manṣúr Zíla,[1] 'Abdu'l-Wáḥid Jurjání, Sulayman of Damascus, and me, Abú Kálinjár. We used to continue our studies till the morning grew bright, and then perform our prayers behind him; and as soon as he came forth he was met at the gate of his house by a thousand mounted men, comprising the dignitaries and notables, as well as such as had boons to crave, or were in difficulties. Then the minister would mount, and this company would attend him to the Government Offices. By the time he arrived there, the number of horsemen had reached two thousand. And there he would remain until the morning prayer, and when he retired for refreshment all that company ate with him. Then he took his midday siesta, and when he rose up from this he would perform his prayer, wait on the King, and remain talking and conversing with him until the next prayer; and in all matters of importance there was no third person between him and the King.

"Our object in narrating these details is to show that the minister had no leisure time. Now when the physicians proved unable to cure this young man, the King's intercession was sought, so that he might bid his minister take the case in hand. So 'Alá'u'd-Dawla spoke to him to this effect, and he consented. Then said he, 'Good tidings to the patient, for the butcher has come to kill him!' When the patient heard this, he rejoiced. Then the minister mounted his horse, and came with his retinue to the gate of the patient's house. Taking a knife in his hand, he entered with two attendants, saying, 'Where is this cow, that I may kill it?' The patient made a noise like a cow, meaning, 'He is here.' The minister bade them bind him hand and foot in the middle of the house. The patient ran forward into the middle of the house and lay down on his right side, and they bound his hands and feet firmly, and 'Abú 'Alí then came forward, rubbing

[1] زیله.

the knives together, sat down, and placed his hand on his side, as is the custom of butchers. 'He is very lean,' said he, 'and not fit to be killed: he must eat fodder until he gets fat.' Then he rose up and came out, having bidden them loose his hands and feet, and place food before him, saying, 'Eat, so that thou mayst grow fat.' They did so, and he ate, and recovered his appetite, after which they administered to him drugs and draughts. 'This cow,' said Abú 'Alí, 'must be well fattened'; so the patient ate in the hope that he might grow fat and they might kill him; while the physicians applied themselves vigorously to treating him as the minister had indicated, and in a month's time he completely recovered."

All wise men will perceive that one cannot heal by such methods of treatment save by virtue of extreme excellence, perfect science, and unerring acumen.

Anecdote xxxviii.

In the reign of Malikshâh, and during part of the reign of Sultán Sanjar, there was at Herát a philosopher named Adíb Isma'íl, a very great and perfect man, who, however, derived his income from his receipts as a physician. By him many rare cures of this class were wrought.

One day he was passing through the sheep-slayers' market. A butcher was skinning a sheep, and was eating the warm fat which he took from its belly.[1] Khwája Isma'íl said to a grocer opposite him, "If at any time this fellow should die, inform me of it before they lay him in his grave." "Willingly," replied the grocer. When five or six months had elapsed, one morning it was rumoured abroad that such-and-such a butcher had died suddenly without any premonitory illness. The grocer also went to offer his condolences. He found a number of people tearing their garments, while others were consumed with grief, for

[1] So in L. A. has: "And every now and then he would put his hand into the sheep's belly, pull out some of the warm fat, and swallow it."

the dead man was young, and had little children. Then he remembered the words of Khwája Isma'íl, and hastened to bear the intelligence to him. Said the Khwája, "He has been a long time in dying." Then he arose, took his staff, went to the dead man's house, raised the sheet from the face of the corpse, and began to apply the remedies for apoplexy.[1] On the third day the dead man arose, and, though he remained paralytic, he lived for many years, and men were astonished, for that great man had seen from the first that he would be stricken by apoplexy.

Anecdote xxxix.

The Shaykhu'l-Islám 'Abdu'lláh Anṣárí (may God sanctify his spirit!) conceived a fanatical hatred of the above-mentioned man of science, and several times attempted to do him an injury, and burned his books. Now this fanatical dislike arose from religious motives, for the people of Herát believed that he could restore the dead to life, and this belief was injurious to his own pretensions.[2]

Now the Shaykh fell ill, and in the course of his illness the death-rattle became apparent. However much the physicians treated him, it availed nothing. They were in despair, and so sent a sample of his urine to the Khwája under the name of another, and requested him to prescribe. When he had inspected it, he said: "This is the urine of so-and-so, in whom the death-rattle has become apparent, and whom they are unable to treat. Bid them pound together a *sír* of pistachio-skins and a *sír*[3] of the sugar called *'askarí* and give it to him, so that he may recover; and give him this message: 'You should study science, and not burn men's books.'"

[1] سکتهٔ.

[2] So B. and L. (دعوی را), but A. reads عوام را, "was injurious to the common folk."

[3] For یک سیر A. has یک سیهٔ twice, and adds مغز after پوست.

So they made a confection of these two ingredients, and the patient ate it, and immediately the death-rattle ceased, and he recovered.

Anecdote xl.

In the time of Galen, one of the notables of Alexandria was attacked by pain in the finger-tips, and suffered great restlessness, being debarred from all repose. They informed Galen, who prescribed an unguent to be applied to his shoulders. As soon as they did this he was cured. Then they questioned Galen, saying, "What was [the rationale of] this treatment which thou didst adopt?" He replied: "This, that the source of a pain which attacks the finger-tips is the shoulder. I treated the root so that the branch might be cured."

Anecdote xli.

In the year A.H. 547 (= A.D. 1152–3),[1] when a battle took place at Daráward[2] between the King of the World Sanjar b. Maliksháh and my master 'Alá'u'd-Dawla al-Ḥusayn (may God immortalize their reigns!), and the Ghúrid army was so grievously smitten by the evil eye,[3] and I wandered about Herát in hiding, because I was connected with the House of Ghúr, and their enemies uttered all manner of accusations against them, and rejoiced malignantly over their reverse; in the midst of this state of things, I say, I chanced one night to be in the house of a certain noble man. When he had eaten bread, I went out to satisfy a need. That noble man, by reason of whom I came to be there, was praising me, saying: "Men know him as a poet, but, apart from his skill in poetry, he is a man

[1] L. has "447," both in figures and writing, an evident error, since Sanjar reigned A.H. 511–552, and 'Alá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn "Jahán-súz" A.H. 544–556. A. omits the figures, and only has "in the year forty-seven."

[2] See B. de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 228, but this reading is conjectural. L. has بدراويه, A. بدراوبه.

[3] لشكر غوررا چنان چشم زخمی افتاد.

of great attainments, well skilled in astrology, medicine, polite letter-writing, and other accomplishments."

When I returned to the company, the master of the house showed me much respect, as do those who are in need of some favour, and sat by me for a while. "O so-and-so," said he, "I have one only daughter, and, save her, no other near relative, and she is my treasure. Lately she has fallen a victim to a malady such that during the days of her monthly courses ten or fifteen *sírs*[1] of sanguineous matter come from her, and she is greatly weakened. We have consulted the physicians, several of whom have treated her, but it has availed nothing, for if this issue be stopped, she is attacked with pain and swelling in the stomach, and if it be renewed, it is increased in amount,[2] and she is much weakened, so that I fear its cessation, lest her strength should wholly decline." "Send me word," said I, "when next this state occurs."

When ten days had passed, the patient's mother came to fetch me, and brought her daughter to me. I saw a girl very comely, but despairing of life, and stricken with terror. She at once fell at my feet, saying: "O my father! For God's sake help me, for I am young, and have not yet seen the world." The tears sprang to my eyes, and I said, "Be of good cheer, this is an easy matter." Then I placed my fingers on her pulse. I found the artery strong, and her colour and complexion normal. It was at this time the season of summer, and most of the conditions of an enjoyable life[3] were present, such as a robust habit of body, a strong constitution, a healthy complexion, age, season, country,[4] and occupation. Then I summoned a phlebotomist

[1] A. has "maunds."

[2] L. has: . . و اگر باز شود زیاد میرود . . A. has:
و اگر می کشایند سیلان می افتد . .

[3] L. امور عشرت, A. امور عشره.

[4] For L.'s reading, و بلد, A. has:
و هوای بکد (بلد ?) و عادت و اعراض ملایمه ،

and bade him open the basilic vein in both her arms; and I sent away all the women. The bad blood continued to flow, and, by pressure and manipulation, I took from her a thousand dirhams' weight of blood, so that she fell down in a swoon. Then I bade them bring fire, and prepare roasted meat beside her, until the house was filled with the smoke of the roasting meat, and it entered her nostrils. Then she came to her senses, moved, groaned, and asked for a drink. Then I prepared for her a gentle stimulant, and treated her for a week, and she recovered, and that illness passed away, and her monthly courses resumed their normal condition. And I called her my daughter, and to-day she is to me as my other children.

Conclusion.

My object in writing this treatise and in setting forth this discourse is not to make mention of my merits or to show forth my services, but rather to guide the beginner, and to glorify my Lord, the learned and just King, Ḥusámu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín, Helper of Islám and the Muslims, Pride of monarchs and kings, noblest of mankind, Shamsu'l-Ma'álí, Maliku'l-Umará, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí b. Mas'úd b. al-Ḥusayn, Nuṣratu Amíri'l-Mú'minín (may God perpetuate his glory!), by whose high station the Kingly Office is magnified. May God (blessed and glorious is He!) continue to embellish it by his Beauty, and may the Divine Protection and Heavenly Grace be a buckler over the form and stature of both, and may the heart of my Lord and Benefactor Fakhru'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín, Bahá'u'l-Islám wa'l-Muslimín, King of the kings of the mountains, be rejoiced, not for a while but for ever, by the continuance of both!

Concluding Note by the Editor of the Ṭihrán ed. of A.H. 1305 (= A.D. 1887–8).

In the beneficent reign of the Sovereign Lord[1] of the nations, the King of kings who is like unto Alexander in pomp, the Remembrancer of Kisrá and Jamshíd, the Monarch of monarchs, the Shadow of God in the lands, by the regards of whose weighty mind all the sciences and arts enjoy the fullest ascendency, and the votaries of every sort of craft and cunning possess the most brilliant position, the King, son of a king and grandson of a king, and the Prince, son of a prince and grandson of a prince, SHÁH NÁṢIRU'D-DÍN QÁJÁR (may God prolong his Power, and extend his Life and his Reign !)—

" O King, who resemblest the Angels in exaltation,
Whose name is held in fair renown by the Supreme Host !"

By the auspicious traits of his nature the treatises of men of culture, which had been clothed in the raiment of oblivion, have become adorned with the ornament of print, while the dust of desolation has been removed from the senses of men of learning. Amongst such treatises is this *Chahár Maqála* of 'Arúḍí, whereof, until this time, the virgin sentences were hidden behind the curtain of concealment, and the maiden anecdotes lay latent and unknown in the leaves. This servant of the Heaven-high Court and house-bred slave of this Immortal Dynasty, Muḥammad Báqir Khán, son of the late Ḥájí Muḥammad Báqir Khán, Begler-begí, the Qájár, who has devoted most of his time to the transcription of written pages, undertook, at the desire of his High Reverence Mullá 'Alí Khwánsárí, to transcribe this also. Two manuscripts were examined, of which the one had been copied from the other. In the one there were bad mistakes, and in the other worse. It was as though a heap of gold had been acquired, but filled

[1] Literally " Master of the necks."

with alloy and dross. Thus, amongst other errors, تُهَم was written طهيم, and حماحم, حميم. Therefore, to the utmost of my power, I applied myself, while transcribing the book, to correcting as far as possible the words and sentences occurring in it. My prayer of my spiritual friends, who are the changers of the coins of ideas, is that if a chance mistake occur, or an erroneous idea or word appear, they will overlook it with gracious eyes, and will endeavour to read such correction into the text.

At the time of concluding, a chronogram expressing the date [of publication] occurred to me, and is here submitted:[1]

كتاب چهار مقاله كُلّاً صحيح در طبع آمد ' ۱۳۰۵

By the desire of Akhúnd-i-Mullá 'Alí Khwánsárí, A.H. 1305, and by the care of His Reverence Abu'l-Qásim, the noble heir of Akhúnd-i-Mullá Muḥammad.

[1] The meaning is: "The Book of the *Four Discourses* hath been correctly printed in its entirety." The numerical values of the letters composing this sentence, when added up, give 1305.

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THE ORIGIN

OF

PERSIAN POETRY,

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

OF

PROFESSOR J. DARMESTETER

BY

NASARWÁNJI FRÁMJI TAMBOLI

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To

SIGNOR O. S. PEDRAZA,

Fellow of the University of Bombay,
Commander of the Order of Isabel the Catholic,

THIS LITTLE BOOK IS DEDICATED

AS A TRIBUTE OF RESPECT AND AFFECTION

BY

HIS GRATEFUL PUPIL

N. F. TAMBOLÍ.

PREFACE.

The following pages, the original French of which appeared in the evening issues of the *Journal des Debats* of the 20th, 21st, and 24th April 1886, were published in parts in the *Indian Spectator* some time back. It was felt in some quarters that the articles should be reprinted in a collected form. The translator meets the wishes of his friends with great reluctance, aware as he is of having done but scant justice to the brilliant production of Professor J. Darmesteter, the author of the original articles.

Bombay, 1st January 1888.

THE ORIGIN OF PERSIAN POETRY.

I.

One day King Behram Gor of historic and legendary memory was at the feet of his mistress, the beautiful Dil Aram. He told her of his love, she answered to him with her own. As their hearts beat together, their words did beat the same and echoed one another. It is thus that poetry, rhyme and rhythm took birth in Persia.

II.

The legend is beautiful but comes a little too late. At the time when King Behram sighed at the feet of his mistress, ancient Persia was drawing to her end; she had behind her six centuries of literature, and poetry had not waited for the caprice of a royal heart to awaken. Seven centuries before Behram Gor and Dil Aram, the companions of Alexander the Great had heard the poets of Susa sing the loves of Zariares and Odatis who saw and loved each other in dreams, the only love that knows no disappointment. Later on, the songs of pagan Persia had more than once scandalized the Christians on the eve of battles, at the time when Christ and Ormazd cut each other's throats on the plateau of Armenia. But all this ancient poetry is lost to us. What is left is a remnant devoid of all charms, the famous Gathas of the Zend Avesta, rhythmical sermons which breathe irreproachable morals and which offer all the poetic interest of a catechism.

In the middle of the seventh century three battles gave Persia to the Arabs, as they had formerly done to Alexander. National literature fell with national independence. The language of the Koran drove out Pehlvi from the literature, from the religion and from the administration, and the Persian Muse sang in Arabic.

But national tradition soon reawoke. The end of the century saw the Arab empire fall into irreparable deca-

dence. The dream of the thousand and one nights had been but as the dream of a single summer-night. Mamoon, the son of Haroon-al-Raschid, the last of the great Khalifs, in order to mount a disputed throne was obliged to appeal to the Persians of Khorassan. When he made his triumphal entry into Merv, the capital of the province, Abbas a poet of that place, known for his Arabic poems, welcomed him with a Persian ode composed in his honour: this was the first manifestation of national poetry:—

"No one," said he, "has sung a poem of this kind; the Persian language has much to do to elevate itself to this dignity. However, I have selected it to sing thy praises, in order that in glorifying thy greatness, it may become more noble and more beautiful."

The charm was broken. The vulgar tongue had raised its voice: Persian poetry was going to take a new, rather a second birth. The commencement was slow and obscure. We do not find it formed and mistress of itself till two centuries later, about the year 1,000, at the Round Table of Mahomed of Ghazni; it is the age of Firdusi and of the Shah-nameh. But Firdusi has so much eclipsed his contemporaries and his predecessors so much more, that the two centuries which intervened between Abbas and Firdusi are void in appearance; there remains nothing to us but names, the works have perished.

Fortunately, there exists in Persia as elsewhere a race that one cannot bless too much, the race of compilers. An ancient compilation is a treasure, however worthless the compiler, and however little he may have put into it of his own. Now there are to be met with in the dust of Persian libraries, a dozen Histories of Poets, composed without criticism and without taste, but at a time when the old masters were still known. An Orientalist, M. Hermann Ethé, one of the most patient searchers of manuscripts that Germany has produced, has set himself the task of collecting from this dust all that it hides of the scattered remnants of the poems of former times. He has thus exhumed from fifteen hundred to two thousand verses belonging to a score of poets,

often insignificant, but as often rich in surprises for a reader of our country and of our time. These Persians of a thousand years ago are nearer to us than some of their more illustrious successors. It costs us a mental effort to enter into the genius of Saadi, of Hafiz, of Djami and of all those clever artists, rhetoricians of genius, who could have been something else (i.e. more), but who, as it is, are tied down by literary conventionalities. But in the case of the poets of former times, the conventionalities, powerful as they are, have not yet had time to freeze everything; they have not congealed in their mould those eternal commonplaces of the heart, which are always so new when they pass through the heart of a poet. At times the anguish of thought and the sentiment of the Universal Evil* burst forth in modern cries sure to find an echo in the souls of to-day, and from the whole horizon of our poetry voices rise in response to those distant masters of the Hari Rood and the Amoo-Daria.

III.

Two centuries and four dynasties intervened between Abbas and Firdusi, Khalif Mamoon and Sultan Mahomed, between the first movement of Persian poetry and its full flight. After the victorious Mamoon had quitted Merv to go to Bagdad, his General Abdallah, son of Tahir, paid himself for his services by asking or rather taking the Government of eastern Persia and founded the dynasty of the Taherides. Half a century later, a coppersmith of Seistan, Yacoob by name, overthrew the Taherides and snatching the whole of Persia from the Khalifate founded the dynasty of the Saffarides or Coppersmiths. The Khalif in this extremity called to his aid from beyond the Oxus Samanides, a Turkish family which had descended or pretended to have descended from one of the last heroes of independent Persia who had died an exile in Turkestan These Samanides ruled with glory for a century and fell

* This means, the Evil in the Universe, the radical flaw of the world; the World-woe.

about the year 1000, before the Louis XIV. of the Oriental middle ages, Mahomed of Ghazni, the king of Firdusi. This epoch of the Samanides has left in the memory of Persia the remembrance of a brilliant dawn, of a golden age of poetry ; it is the period of creation.

Abbas, the poet of Mamoon, had no successor, "although he had raised the Little Bear of eloquence to the height of the Pleiades." The Taherides, although the real founders of Persian independence cared less for Persian than for Persia. They were good Mussulmans and the Koran sufficed for everything. The first of that dynasty had caused to be burnt the old Pehlvi poem which sang of the loves of Wamick and of Asra, saying, "We read the Koran and the traditions of the prophet ; this book is a book of the Magi, therefore it is accursed."

The Coppersmiths were less severe ; in the reign of the second of that family appeared Firuz, "who saved Persian poetry from annihilation ; because, his verses were more sweet than a kiss snatched in secret and more beautiful than the light of the eyes." It is a pity the only specimen cited by the biographers is not sufficient to permit of our enjoying all the sweetness of this kiss. Another poet of the same period, Aboo Salik of Hyrcania, is more fortunate. He transports us all at once into the Hotel Rambouillet,* or better still to Mascarille's, † but with a smile which proves that he is no fool.

"With the brows of thy eyes thou hast stolen my heart ; thou stealest with thy brows and claimest to condemn me with thy lips."

"Must I pay a fine for my having been robbed of my heart by thee? hast thou ever heard of such a wonder?—a thief being indemnified by the person robbed?"

From here you hear Mascarille cry, "thief! thief!";

* Hotel Rambouillet—A coterie of blue-stockings in the reign of Louis XIV.

† Mascarille—A character in Molieres comedy 'Les Précienses Ridicules.'

but it is a Mascarille who knows how to speak with Corneillian accent:—

"Let thy blood flow on the ground, that is much better than letting thy honour flow thus."

"Believe me it is much better to kneel before idols than before men."

One would like much to hear this voice at one time so sprightly and refined, at another so proud and simple. We feel this regret more than once as we pass before these shades which open their lips for a word or two and then relapse into eternal silence. But sometimes a word that comes out of the abyss awakes more echoes than many discourses. It is a voice louder than that which is raised in a wilderness, and there is in the word a beauty of loneliness as there is in the ruins, as there is in the souls.

IV.

With the Samanides poetry ascends the throne. A name dominates this whole epoch, the name of Rûdagi, the blind poet of Bokhara; him Persian poetry places at its cradle as a sort of Homer.

Rûdagi was born in Bokhara in the middle of the ninth century, the century of the Oaths of Strasburg. He was born blind, "but he had the inner eye." This latter one he had clear enough, so much so as to make us sometimes doubt the truth of the legend, because colours play a great part in those of his verses that are left to us, or it may be that a *rôle* is attributed to him which he could not fulfil: for, at times he seems to forget too much that he is blind. When he attained the age of eight he knew the Koran by heart, and commenced composing verses. The Samanide prince Nasr, son of Ahmed, was charmed with his genius and attached him to his person. Never was poet more overwhelmed with favours, not even Ansari at the court of Mahomed. He had two hundred pages to attend on him, and four hundred camels to carry his baggage, and he could bequeath to his heirs more riches than a poet ever saw in his dreams.

An anecdote, wellknown in the East, illustrates the marvellous power which his poetry exercised on his royal master. Emir Nasr had left Bokhara for Merv, and this "Queen of the world" had such charms in her that Nasr was loth to quit her. This made the old nobles of Bokhara fear for the capital. The poets of Khorassan never ceased their sarcasms against that great upstart beyond the Oxus, its narrow streets and its filthiness.

"The noblest horse" sang one, "turns into an ass the moment it enters Bokhara. Never have my eyes lighted on a more infectious sink than this city which the Emir has made his capital."

"When elsewhere," sang another, "the tepid breath of winds diffuses every morning the sweet perfume of cities, the atmosphere of Bokhara is charged with the smell of putrid matter."

The nobles of Bokhara prayed to Roudagi to sing to the Emir some poem which might awaken in him sentiments of love and regret for Bokhara. One morning at breakfast Roudagi seized his lyre and sang:—

"The perfume of the waters of the Molian* rises towards us; the memory of the well-beloved friend recurs to us."

"The sands of the Amou and its glistening pebbles feel soft like silk under the feet."

"The waters of the Jihoon and their bubblings rise in their freshness up to the girdle of the king."

"Rejoice thou, O Bokhara, and be happy! the king re-enters thy walls as a guest."

"The king is the moon, Bokhara is the sky; the moon mounts the sky."

"The king is the cypress, Bokhara the garden; the cypress comes back to the garden."

The king, touched by these memories, at once mounts his horse, though he has his night-gown and slippers on, and does not halt till he is within the walls of Bokhara.

Roudagi, says the legend, had a divine voice, and the musician was as good as the poet. Among other gifts he

* Molian- A river in Bokhara.

possessed the power of thought-reading, and felt so well the beating of the hearts of those around him that he could improvise on the lyre a song which was in accord with the sentiments that passed in them. One day a man feigning incredulity asked for a proof, Roudagi convinced him to his confusion by singing the following:—

"If thou knowest how to master thy passions, thou art a man; if thou dost not laugh at the blind and the deaf, thou art a man."

"To kick a man lying on the ground is not manly; to reach out to him a helping hand is manly."

His glory was not due only to his position in the Emir's court. One of his works had charmed whole Persia and had run from town to town: this was a translation in verse—now lost—of Kalila and Dimna, that famous book of apologues, born in Buddhist India, parent of the Thousand and one Nights, and of so many of our *fabliaux* and fables, and which has gone to remote regions unreached yet by the Bible, the Koran and the word of Buddha. Admiration remained faithful to him even after his death. He was hailed as the incomparable master, the creator of poetry, the inimitable model of every species of it, the polar star of poetry, the Sultan, the Adam of poets. One of his rivals, Shahid of Bactria, said:—

"Poetry as written by other poets consists of nothing but words, but as written by Roudagi it is nothing but a play of colours."

"'Bravo!' 'Very well'! are a compliment in the case of poets, but in that of Roudagi, these words would be an impertinence."

The poems of Roudagi were numerous; they say that he left behind him one million and three hundred thousand verses. There are of these only a few hundred extant. Among these there are some beautiful enough to make us regret the loss of the major portion, and others so dull that we may congratulate ourselves on the destruction of the mass.

These remnants can be ranged under three heads; poems of the court, poems of love, and poems of non-illusion.

It is as poet of the court that Roudagi made his fortune; but as it may be expected, it is not his praises of his royal master that go much to affect us. However, it may be interesting to compare the ways of the Persian panegyrist with those of the accomplished panegyrist of Greece. Pindar asks himself :—"I have to praise X., who pays me, but who is very little interesting: how am I to pass from him to a subject that may prove interesting?" For Roudagi who has but one master and always the same, the question is this:—"I am given a subject; how am I to manipulate it so as to put in a word of praise for the Emir?" The solution is very easy: he sets about his work with a comparison, He describes the spring: Nature is in smiles, the tulip is in bloom, the wind is perfumed, the slender branch trembles in the breath of spring *like the eye of the enemy before the sword of the Emir:* the Emir is the source of victory and of happiness &c. Here is a description of autumn: The autumn wind is an alchemist, otherwise, how could it change the fruits of the garden into gold? The wind of Kharizm has filled the grove with coins of gold (sear leaves) *in the same way as the bounty of the Emir fills those who come to see him;* because, the king, as long as he has an enemy, has nothing to do but fight him, and as long as he has a *direm*, he has nothing to do but give it, &c., (A word to the wise is enough). Pangs of love: Roudagi is enthralled by the beauty of a lady who holds him captive by a thousand chains, but he is not afraid of the captivity, *as the liberality of the prince has set him free,* the prince who listens to the voice of the weak as the mother listens to the cry of the strayed child, &c. The more unexpected the transition, the more agreeably is the vanity of the king surprised by this the gentlest of all tricks and *dinars* are showered on the lucky poet. What is it that a poet laureate wants?—pensions and titles: *acceperunt mercedem suam, vani vanam."*

Fortunately, Roudagi was something other than a poet of the court. He had loved, and though the spoiled child of success, had suffered. Most of his love-songs partake too

much of conventionalism and of the love-rhetoric, that great plague of refined literatures, which renders a great portion of Persian poetry insupportable and which, as one sees, belongs to it from the earliest times. It is probable that new Persia did nothing but take up the traditions of the lovers of past times. The love-ditties of new Persia are nothing but a paraphrase of those of the time of Darius. All this sterile rhetoric which had such charms for Goethe grown old, is to be found in the verses of our poet, although restricted and relieved by some traits of naturalness.

"The great feast-day comes but once a year; thy look, however, is for me an eternal feast."

"The rose blooms but once a year; thy face is for me an ever-blooming rose."

"It is but once that I gather in a bunch the violets in the garden; thy perfumed locks are an eternal bouquet of violets."

"The daffodil blooms but once in the year; the daffodil of thy eyes blooms all the year round."

"The daffodil after having once gone to sleep does not revive; thy black daffodil revives and reawakes."

"There is many a cypress that grows green in the garden throughout the year; but before thy noble stature it looks crooked and bent" &c.

In these sprightly sallies there is nothing of that sincere passion which can fully ally itself with refinement and with bad taste and lend to it a ray of truth; nothing of those transfigurations which make of love a religion wherein imagination has as much to do as the heart, but where imagination unaided by the heart could do nothing; nothing of the enlargement of the image of the beloved one, which by dint of filling up the vision of the poet covers his whole horizon, his whole sky. The stream in which his beloved washes her cheeks becomes rosy in colour, the place where she waves her hair gets charged with musk; Oronte would have sung in this strain if he had rhymed at Bokhara. Roudagi is surprised that the tulip springs from the dew of the earth, when in the case of his mistress the dew springs

from the tulip, meaning thereby that his mistress has a mole. The day on which these verses were recited in the harem of Nasr, all the Philamintes of Bokhara must have gone into ecstasies.

Wit predominates in the amorous pieces of Roudagi, for that is the form love assumes in the case of those who are innocent of the passion.

"O free this heart from its anguish and its torment with two or three kisses, and may God return thee the same."

But two or three kisses are not sufficient.

"Kisses are like bitter waters; the more onedrinks of them the more thirsty he becomes."

Mixed with much of this jargon are some fine bursts of nature in this triumphal song of happy love :—

"Now we are reunited and everything is forgotten; how sweet after separation is the reunion with one's well-beloved!"

"She asks me with a caress, "away from me, how felt thy heart?" She asks me with a blush, "away from me, how felt thy soul?" "

"I reply to her saying, "Oh my Peri of Paradise, thou who art the misery of my mind and the torment of all the beauties of the earth,

"Thy amber-tresses have made a collar of the world for me, because the world is for me a ball of which thy tresses are the racket."

"Such has been my pain for those two eyes that dart arrows, such has been my pain for those tresses that diffuse the odour of musk."

"And in the caresses of this flower of hyacinth my bosom becomes a bag of amber; under the kisses of this coral my lips melt like sugar."

In the presence of all this beauty of the world, which he can know only by means of imagination or by the eyes of others, a sad thought of his infirmity at times crosses his mind.

"Oh my adored, I am told that in the course of his life of grief or joy, Joseph stripped himself off of three tunics.

"The first was stained with blood by cunning*; the second was torn by calumny †; the third by its perfume restored light to Jacob's eyes that had grown humid with tears.‡ My cheek red with tears of blood resembles the first, my heart, the second. Oh, would that I could obtain the third!"

Naturalness and consequently poetry result from true emotion and grief.

"Oh when thou wilt see me dead, and these two lips closed, when the soul shall have left this body which shall have no more desires

"Sit thou at the head of my bed and say gently: "Oh thou whom I have killed and whom I grieve for at present!"

Thus passed away years in paying homage to beauty, in drinking wine and in singing like Horace "*carpe diem*" and "*Breves nimium rosæ*" (the too fugitive roses).

"Live joyous with blackeyed merry beauties, because the world is nothing but a fable and a breath."

"I and this beauty whose braided hair diffuse the odour of musk, I and this beauty whose face is as fair as the disk of the moon, and who is of the race of the Houris!"

"Good luck to him who gives and enjoys himself; woe to him who neither gives nor enjoys himself."

"Alas! this world is but a vapour and a breath; give to me some wine then, happen what may."

He describes this wine with the same sprightliness and the same refinement that he describes a mistress with.

"Roudagi took the harp and sang: his gushing song made the wine spirt out.

"It is a wine made of cornelian; it would be difficult to distinguish it from melted cornelian.

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* The tunic stained with blood by his brothers.

† The tunic torn by the wife of Potiphar, who had accused her husband's favourite of the grossest offence.

‡ An Arab legend relates that Jacob had become blind by dint of weeping for Joseph. The latter sent to his father the tunic which he had received from the angel Gabriel in the well into which his brothers had thrown him. This tunic had retained its divine perfume and had the property of curing all diseases.

"It is the same substance, but the one is solid, the other is liquid.

"Without being touched, it tinges the fingers; without being tasted, it runs in the head."

Elsewhere, it is pure ruby liquefied, it is likened to a sword drawn in the sun; so pure that one would call it a cup of rose-water, so sweet that one would call it repose on the eyes of sleeplessness:—"Drink then, for wine makes new-born grief old." *Suave mari magno:* "When the sky resounds with thunder, drink and listen to the voice of the lute and the lyre." What care we for the days that pass away? "There are two days for which I shall never reck," sang Omar Khayyam in a later age, "and they are Yesterday and To-morrow." Roudagi shows his wisdom by a similar remark: "Rejoice for the day that comes and do not grieve for the one that is passing away."

But in the end, when many years have glided away, the present loses its charm.

"For the days of our youth are the days of our glory."*

These days of youth and of glory passed away for Roudagi also, and he too like Vellon, Musset, Byron and every poet who has grown prematurely old, was driven to the poetry of regret. Love had departed with youth; his powerful protector Emir Nasr was dead.

"O lady blessed with a fair face and musk-perfumed tresses, dost thou know what thy slave formerly was? How many pretty young girls loved him and came to see him privately at night?

"How many hearts formerly as hard as the stone and the anvil have my songs rendered soft like silk?

"Thou seest Roudagi at present. Thou didst not see him at the time when he lived with libertines. Thou didst not see him at the time when he went about the world singing songs, when he was the man of 'The Thousand Stories' (the book of Kalila).

"The time when his verses had the run of the world is gone, the time when he was the poet of Khorassan is gone.

"Time is changed and I am changed too; bring to me my staff, for the time for the staff and the wallet is come."

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* Byron.

Roudagi, however, did not resign himself to old age without a struggle. Khosravani, a contemporary poet, said rudely :—

" I admire these old men who paint their beards ; with all their painting they will not get out of the way of death."

" They are but preparing for themselves a punishment in hell."

Roudagi taking the compliment for himself replied with grace :—

" I do not blacken my hair to become young again and sin anew. People put on mourning at the time of misfortune, I blacken my hair as a sign of mourning for this misfortune of old age."

Futile remedy. Death struck in his sides to warn him. He lost his admirer and friend Shahid of Bactria, a true poet, and with him he believed to have lost the best of his genius. Why had he not gone, when young, to seek for peace in the cell of a convent, at the feet of the Shaik ?

" Dost thou see this young and rich cavalier coming from afar to serve God ?"

" His master will not be satisfied till after ten years when he will go back an old man, barefooted and begging."

As the world neglected him, he neglected the world. He bade adieu to pleasure, to profane science, to Greek philosophy so much in fashion then, and perhaps adored by him too. He turned his mind to Religion for which he had cared very little in the days of his prosperity.

" Oh my soul, why take so much pains to nourish this body ; it is a pity that the Holy Spirit should set about keeping the dog."*

" I have my share of the truth taught by the prophets ; why need I go to draw lessons from the dry springs of Greek philosophy ?"

Did he find the peace of his latter days there, or in the resigned fatalism of human philosophy ?

" Oh thou who art in grief and goest in mourning, thou who weepest in secret, thou wouldst render the world equal, the world is the world, how canst thou make it less changeable ?

* The *dog* is the body, the *Holy Spirit* is his soul.

"Groan not, for it cares not for thy groans; complain not, for it listens not to complaints.

"Thou wouldst go weeping till the day of resurrection; will thy tears bring back those who have gone?

"Look! though there is neither a cloud nor an eclipse, the moon retires and the world returns into darkness."

It is thus that the blind poet could peacefully await the time of retiring in his turn into second darkness; more fortunate than others, he was led by age alone towards this saddest of all virtues, Resignation, the elder sister of death.

V.

Roudagi was surrounded by a whole army of poets. We have already met with one of them, Shahid of Bactria, his admired admirer. They say that Roudagi placed him above himself, and the four or five fragments of his works that have come down to us appear to justify the modesty of the master. Shahid was the pessimist of his time. He had a gloomy and grand imagination, sober in the consciousness of its strength and brightened by occasional flashes of gentleness and of grace. There is no doubt that he had met with disappointments in the world and had experienced in his own person that "Talent and fortune, like the daffodil and the rose, can never bloom together." Civil and foreign wars ravaged his country and in the ruins of Tus he met with the raven which later on visited Edgar Poe of a night.

"Last night I passed in the desert of Tus; I saw an owl seated on the perch where formerly the cock had roosted.

"I asked, 'What news of the desert bringest thou to me?'

"It replied, 'The news, here it is, Misery! Misery!'"

Poet of the court like Roudagi, he dreams before the throne of the fatality of human conditions and of the blind will of the heavens.

"There are two workmen busy in the celestial sphere; one is a tailor, the other is a weaver.

"The former sews nothing but the head-dresses of kings, and the latter weaves nothing but the smock-frocks of beggars."

He travelled over the world from end to end without

meeting with a sage satisfied with the existing order of things, and his whole philosophy embodies itself in one image, grand and gloomy like the world :—

"If grief were to throw out smoke like fire, the world would be wrapped up in eternal darkness."

VI.

Among the followers of Roudagi are to be found poets of every style and every kind; let us make some of them march past us. Here is Abul Abbas of Bokhara, the panegyrist, who has to celebrate the accession of Nuh succeeding his father Nasr. It is always a delicate thing for a poet laureate to sing a legitimate accession. He must do it "with a tear in his eye and a smile on his lips."*

Abul Abbas executes the difficult task very cleverly, and neither the dead nor the living will have anything to find fault with.

"A noble prince has departed; an illustrious prince has just ascended the throne.

"The world is in tears for him who has just departed; the world is in joy for him who has just been installed.

"Ponder thoughtfully how kind God has been to us.

"The place of the torch that has been taken away from us is supplied by a light equally bright.

"For the wrath that Saturn has shown, Jupiter has shown us his kindness."

Here are the lover-poets like Abul Muvayyed of Bactria who cannot see without a sigh the red on the nails of his beloved one, for it is he himself who has dyed them with his heart-blood, or like Nasr of Nishapur who sees all the stars of the heavens in the face of her whom he admires :

"But for her black locks, she would resemble the moon; But for the heart-enchaining mole on her face, she would resemble Venus.

"Truly, one would say that her cheek is the Sun himself, if the latter were not subject to eclipses and settings."

* W. Scott. Marmion Canto V. St. 12.

Here is Mohammed of Djunaid, an arrant toper, who makes Drunkenness a virtue.

"From day-break set about drinking to the song of the cock and the screechings of the lyre.

"It is necessary that the sun lifting his head above the hills should blush from the reflection of the glass.

"At night-fall leave the cup for the bed, and at dawn leave the bed for the cup.

"As milk is a necessary for the infant, so is wine a necessary for the aged."

We now come to the pious Saleh of Herat, who, before the charms of a young Christian, before her gazelle-eyes, her curling tresses, her tulip cheeks, her silvery bosom, dreams of all that Hell can invest with a divine appearance: one feels that in this case the mere appearance will suffice.

Here is the beggar-poet Abu Zarrah, who is quite ready to have the genius of Roudagi, if the Emir could but show himself as generous as his predecessor Nasr.

"What if my fortune is not on a level with that of Roudagi?—do not be surprised—I am his equal in eloquence.

"If he who had blind eyes could obtain worldly goods, how can I who have sound eyes close them to these goods?

"Give me but a thousandth part of what princes gave to him, and my eloquence will surpass his by a thousand times."

After him comes the soldier-poet Ali of Bokhara, who, seeing the flying flakes of snow, dreams of battle.

"Look at the sky, see how the battalions of snow fly; one would call them white doves flying in disorder, frightened by the falcon."

Here is the poet Khosravani, he who so harshly preached to Roudagi, and who was an old devotee at the shrine of love.

"O my idol, never had a pagoda an idol like thee and a priest like me!"

A fragment of an epigram written by him in agony is left to us:—

"I see beside me four sorts of impotent persons who have failed to alleviate in the least my sufferings, viz. the physician with

his drugs, the monk with his prayers, the astrologer with his horoscopes, and the conjuror with his charms."

But before he died he had time enough to utter a cry which left a long echo, and which Firdusi did not disdain to pick up and transmit to us, viz. the eternal cry of fleeting youth.

"What have I done to you, oh years of my youth?"*

His great work completed, and his hopes of fortune deceived, the poor poet of the 'Shah Nameh' cried :—

"I have taken so much trouble, I have read so many histories, gone through so many Arabian and Pehlvi narratives,

"Excepting the sigh and the evil consequence of my faults, what trace of my youth is left to me?"

"Now when I recall to my mind the years of my youth, I groan and repeat the verse of Boo Tahir Khosravani :—"

"'I review my youth up to the time of my infancy; alas! my youth, alas! where is my youth?'"

This was the burden of most of the poetry of that age, and it caused more than one sigh to be heaved. A poet of Gilan said :—

"Like the showers of spring and the wind of autumn, the time of my youth has slipped from my hands.

"How often have I sat well in body, joyous at heart, the cheek all aglow?

"Never was my ear tired of hearing the songs of musicians, nor my hand of holding the cup of the wine of Moghan.†

"I now groan at the memory of my youth; alas! my youth, alas! where is my youth?"

The Muse, not confining her visits only to the court, descended frequently into the tradesman's stall. She had her Reboul,‡ a baker of Nishapur "who was not only expert in making bread, but also in stringing together poetical

* "Que vous ai-je donc fait, O mes jeunes années?" Victor Hugo, *Feuilles d'Automn.*

† A place in Azerbijan, celebrated for its wine

‡ Reboul, a baker and poet of Provence in this century.

pearls." The gallant baker could turn a love-song better than anybody else.

" Thou seest those two tresses tossed by the wind ;

" One would say—a lover who knows not where to find repose :

" Or rather —— the hands of the general's chamberlain

" Signing from a distance that visitors would not be received that day."

It is probable that business was not in a thriving condition, for our baker became a pluralist and set up for a physician. His patients had to grieve for it, and he too ; because, as ill-luck would have it, he had a son, likewise a poet, but wanting in filial respect. He inaugurated at the expense of his father the tradition of Molière :—

" I gave good counsel to the baker-doctor ; I told him, ' Try to send away thy patients cured of their ailments. It is absolutely necessary that the helpless patients who in hopes of recovery knock joyously at thy door should not leave it grieving.' "

" Papa said in reply : ' Thou dost not see that it is no fault of mine. When the fatal hour sounds for the prey it runs of itself to the hunter.' "

The day when the history of Medicine will be written at the court of Comedy, one of the first voices will be that of this contemporary of Avicenne, the irreverent son of the baker-doctor.

VII.

In this cluster of minor poets whose shades crowd round Roudagi there are two before whom Dante would have stopped Virgil. They go by the name of Dakiki and Kisâi.

Dakiki is known in Persia as the forerunner of Firdusi, as the first poet of the Shah Nameh. From the time that Persia became her old self, she passionately transported herself to the memories of her past glory: in spite of the impassable gulf which Islam had caused between her past and her present, and which she would not have liked to bridge over, even if she had the power to do so, she loved to revive the legion of legends which mythology and history, remodelled by popular poetry, had heaped round the imaginary

or real heroes—the Feriduns, the Gustasps, the Rustoms, the Alexanders, the Behrams, &c. The last native kings had commenced this work which was interrupted by the conquest of the country by the Arabs. It was taken up again by the new dynasties. About the time when France was ruled by Hugh Capet and when she commenced singing the heroic deeds of the Paladins of Charlemagne, enough of materials to make a continuous book called Shah Nameh had been collected. But this book was in prose, its poetical consecration was an absolute necessity. Mohammed surnamed Dakiki or the Subtle, because of the refined character of his poetry was asked by Emir Nuh to undertake the task as he was the most renowned poet of the age.

"At that time," says Firdusi, "minstrels used to sing narratives from this book, as fancy took them, and the people grew very fond of them. A young man with a facile tongue appeared on the scene and said:—'I will put this book into verse' and these words gladdened the hearts of men. But death smote him all of a sudden and put on his head its black helmet. The poet departed and the tale remained untold."

About a thousand verses relative to the history of Zoroaster and Gustasp were all that Dakiki left behind him. These verses Firdusi inserted into his poem, being prayed to do so by the poet whose spirit appeared to him in a dream. Poor Dakiki was not equal to the mighty task he had undertaken; his soul possessed neither sufficient strength nor sufficient sublimity. He was above all the poet of wine and of love, and the only reason which could have influenced the Emir to select him for so severe a task was probably the fact of his being one of the last few who were faithful to the law of Zoroaster. Here is what he himself has said in one of his love-poems, a sceptical *mélange* made up of the sacred and the profane.

"Of all the things of this world, good or bad, Dakiki has chosen the following four:—

"Cherry lips, screeching guitar, blood-red wine and Zoroastrian faith."

But the Zoroastrian faith was not for him a very heavy yoke, and it served but to free him from that of the Koran. On a night of dissipation he fell assassinated by a slave of whom he was overfond.

The lyrical fragments which he has left behind him fully justify his surname. Here is a specimen, wherein the final stroke, however, is in the vein of Catulus.

"Would to heaven that this world were without a night or that I had not to tear myself away from these lips."

"The sting of the scorpion would not pierce my heart, if she had not twisted these tresses in a scorpion-like form."

"If she had not this dimple* under the lips, the stars* would not have been the witnesses of my sufferings till dawn."

"If she were not all perfection, my soul would not be all love."

"And still, Oh Lord! if it be that I must spend my life without my beloved, would to God, life were not."

At times the thorn of *aliquid amari*† seems to have pricked him also from under the rose; perhaps some disappointment of the heart or some friendship or love that he had tired:—

"I have stayed too long; I am held in disdain; the friend that stays too long is a loser in esteem."

"The water that lies too long in a basin gets putrid by dint of lying idle."

A sentiment more sad and more grave came across this light soul, but too late to transform him: it was perhaps on the eve of the fatal night that he wrote:—

"I am told" Bear up, God will bless thee for it." He will no

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* The poet plays upon the words *dimple* and *stars* which are almost identical in Persian.

———— † "Medio de fonte leporum
Surgit amari aliquid, quod in ipsis floribus angat *i.e.*, Even in the midst of our pleasures something bitter arises to vex, annoy and harass us.

"Days "*all serene*" and pleasure ever pure
Are not for man; dark clouds at times obscure
The sky most favoured with the sun's blest rays;
The blithest heart will have its sorrowing days."

doubt bless me, but in another life. I have passed my life in sufferings, I must have another life for Him to bless me."

Alas! in spite of his own wish, in spite of the pious wish of Firdusi:—"O God, forgive him his faults and on the day of resurrection give him ample space in Paradise," he did not meet with death in a way to draw God's blessings, and like his brother of France, poor Hégésippe,* he remained a creditor of God in the other world, as Hégésippe in this:—

"When I, a poor pensive schoolboy whom people called wild, threw crumbs of my bread to the bird on the shore, the waves appeared to say, 'Rest assured, in adverse times God will return thee thy bread.' God is still my debtor."†

About the same time flourished poet Abu Ishak of Merv, surnamed Kisai 'the man with the mantle,' for he always carried on his shoulders the mantle of the ascetic. But like so many ascetics he had borne other mantles before he bore this one: the ascetic's mantle is good for wrapping oneself in only when chill old age is on.

"The little bird of the music-room has set about singing like a lover giving a rendezvous to his beloved."

"What is it that it says? It says, "Lover take thy beloved one by the hand at night-fall and hie thee quickly into the grove."

There is more grace and more wit in his description of the rose than in that of Horace:—

"The rose is a treasure descended from heaven; the man who lives in the midst of roses becomes more noble because of them."

"Oh rose-seller! why dost thou sell roses for money? What canst thou buy with their proceeds which can be more precious than roses?"

Omar Khayyam, less happy in the choice of his theme had these verses in his mind when he said:—

"I am surprised at these sellers of wine; what can they buy which is worthier than the wine they sell?"

* Hégésippe Morian was a young French poet of this century.

† "Pauvre écolier rêveur et qu'on disait sauvage,
Quand j'émiettais mon pain à l'oiseau du rivage,
L'onde semblait me dire : "Espère! Aux-mauvais jours,
Dieu te rendra ton pain!" Dieu me le doit toujours !"

If the rose had to choose between the four pretty verses of Kisai and the interminable dithyrambs of Hafiz, it would, I believe, unhesitatingly say to the latter:—"The rose prefers a single note of the nightingale to all the songs of the gardener."

Unfortunately, Kisai does not always display such discretion and moderation, and when he does take the trouble to do so he beats the most consummate *euphuists*.

His beloved one is not contented with lending to the moon the reflection of her countenance, with causing the narcissus to blow wherever she casts a glance, with making the moon rise wherever she passes; her countenance and her tresses form the very book of beauty, for, prithee, what is a book if it is not black on white? She must not let her hair fly about on her cheeks, for, it would not do to leave money within the reach of thieves (and everybody knows very well how much in Persian poetry, the tresses of lovely Persian ladies are made stealers of men's hearts). There was a young washerman with whose beauty the future ascetic was struck: this young man whitened clothes and darkened hearts. Emir Noah (Nuh) has just died, and his coffin passes through the streets of weeping Merv: the stream of tears in its passage causes a second deluge of Noah; the hearse in the middle of this deluge is the very Ark of Noah.

Like Roudagi, Kisai took offensive steps against his whitening locks, and defended himself like him, against his surly critics, but with a half admission of repentance:—

"Thou art pained to see me painting myself and colouring my hair."

"I do not seek to become young again: only I am afraid that some one may seek in me the wisdom of age and not find it there."

This wisdom came to him at last without waiting for a ripe old age. He sang of Ali and the prophets and died before attaining his fiftieth year. His last song, written, they say, an hour before the final agony, is a long regret more for the youth he had wasted and for the life that was passing away, than for his faults.

"It was in the year 341 of the Hegira (A. D. 953) that I entered the world to see what I can say and do well therein."

"To say verses and to live a wild life."

"Now I have passed my whole life in this world below under a burden like a camel, slave of my children, enchained by ties of the family."

"All accounts made up, what do my fifty years leave in my hands? A book of accounts made up of a hundred thousand faults."

"How shall I at last settle this account?—opening with a lie and closing with nothingness."

"Alas! where is the glory of my youth? Where is the charm of life? Alas! Where is beauty? Where is grace?"

"My head is white like milk, my heart black like pitch. My cheek resembles the nenuphar, and my body a slender branch."

"Like the intractable child trembling before a whip, I have trembled before the fear of death."

"Everything has passed away, and all is over with me; what was to have happened has happened, I have lived, and my song is nothing more than a child's tale."

"O Kisai, thy fifty years have stretched their five fingers on thee; they break down thy wings with blows from the fists and the claws."

These piercing cries of the dying show something other than the repentance of the faithful who has sinned. All the ascetics of Persia recall to mind the Penitent of Browning who regrets his faults less than the absence of the power to commit them:

> "How bad! how sad! how mad it was!
> But oh! how it was sweet."

Perhaps, after all, this self-imposed repentance is the sincerest and the surest, since it does not permit relapses and is irreparable.

VIII.

For a long time the dynasty of the Samanides was tottering. Its age verged upon a century, and this is a long period for a Persian dynasty.

The Arab poet Abu Tayeb, of the old family of the Taherides and mortal enemy of the Emirs said beforehand :—

" The princes of the family of Saman have appeared for a moment, and they are falling. Every day their throne is getting undermined more and more."

" Fortune has replaced the soft bed on which they used to stretch themselves by a stony one on the ground."

" They will weep and their tears will never dry. Leave them to hell, and let us drink gaily : the dawn is already rising in the West."

It was not in the West that the dawn, invoked by the hatred of the poet, appeared, but it rose in the South, with the young dynasty of Gazna, daughter of a run-away slave who was going to subjugate Persia and India. Ebrahim Muntasir, the last of the Samanides, ascended the tottering throne while almost a child. He spent his short career on horseback under a torn mantle. This young man, who was at one time a prisoner, at another a fugitive, victorious in one place and vanquished in another, betrayed here and hunted there, was worthy of building up again the empire of his forefathers : " but human efforts are impotent before the decree of heaven." One day, while he was enjoying a spell of good fortune, the courtiers who had rejoined him said : " Sire, why do you not give banquets and concerts ? They are the marks of royalty." The young king replied in verse :—

" I am asked why I do not give feasts and adorn my residence with parti-coloured carpets.

" What should I do with the songs of musicians, amidst the shouts of warriors ? What should I do with meetings in the rose-groves when the steeds are stamping their hoofs around ?

" Of what good at present is the bubbling wine and the ambrosia drunk to the lips of the cup-bearer ? It is blood which should bubble on the rings of the breastplate. My horse and my armour, these are my table of banquet and my garden. My arrow and my bow, these are my tulip and my lily."

The young prince who had taken refuge in the camp of the

Bedouins perished soon after, assassinated at night by his hosts. At least this family of Saman, so very fond of poetry, was recompensed for it. It ended with a poet, singing to the last.

IX.

Poetry survived the extinction of this family. It found a royal refuge in the court of its successors, the Ghaznevides. Mahomed himself wrote poetry at times and was fond of it. The best way to win the favour of this hardy warrior was to sing pretty verses, especially those in which he was praised. His whole court wrote verses: he had four hundred poets in his train, and in order to keep this aviary in order he created a new dignity, still in existence viz. that of 'King of the poets.' This dignitary was not simply the poet laureate, he was the minister of poetical affairs; whoever wrote verses was dependent on him. It was he who examined the verses of the poets of the court, decided if they deserved to be presented to His Majesty, corrected them where necessary and distributed pensions. The first 'King of the poets' was Ansari who is now forgotten; among the subordinate officers was a peasant of Tus, called Firdusi, who wrote the 'Shah Nameh;' "this prophet of the Epic although Mahomet had said that there would be no prophet after him," has entered into European and universal poetry.

I will not talk here of Firdusi whose life and writings are made sufficiently known by the beautiful works of M. Mohl, nor shall I say anything of his successors, for after him Persian poetry has a continuous history. I wish to speak only of some poets who are connected with the Samanide movement and who deserve a notice; for even at this distance of time they have something to say to us.

Umara of Merv was an astronomer. A century later Omar Khayyam, the first poet of his time, will be an algebraist. No one in those days knew anything of the pretended divorce of poetry from science of which so many poetasters and sciolists have talked over and over again. A little

knowledge of science takes us away from poetry and more of it leads us again to it. The ideal life should be that which would be charmed with science at the start, to know what the world is, and end with poetry at last in order to wind up the whole with a pleasant dream.

Two lines of his which Petrarch might have envied, have rendered this astronomer immortal in Persia among the lovers of fine verses:—

"Would that I could hide myself among these verses, so that when thou recitest them, I may kiss thy lips while passing through them."

Some time after the death of Umara, the pious Sheik Abu Sayed held a conference of his disciples and verses were being recited there. One of those present delivered this couplet, and the Sheik, quite moved, cried out: "Whose are these verses?" "They are Umara's" was the reply. "Get up then," cried the Sheik, "and let us go on pilgrimage to the tomb of the poet," and followed by all his disciples he went to pray at the tomb of Umara.

Who was this Sheik who was so very fond of beautiful verses and who in his way already spoke of Petrarch?

"I would go to Rome on foot for a sonnet of his."*

This Sheik is in date the first and the greatest mystic poet of Persia. With him and his rival Avicenne closes this sketch of the heroic age of Persian poetry.

X

At the time we are speaking of the religious views of Mussulman Persia were undergoing a crisis. For a moment Islam appeared ready to open the doors to philosophy and to freethought. Greek philosophy, which, when driven from Alexandria and Athens by Justinian and Christianity, had sought refuge in the court of the Khosroes, returned to the court of the Khaliphs of Bagdad, and Islam for a time was liberal. The origin of the Koran was discussed. Was the Koran a human or a divine production? Was it a reve-

* "J'irais à Rome à pied pour un sonnet de lui." Sainte Beuve.

lation made in time or was it the Eternal Word? Khaliph Mamoun decreed that the Koran was a human production; this was the triumph of freethought, and whoever talked of an uncreated (i.e. divine) Koran was hanged. But a reaction took place during the reigns of the successors of Mamoun. The divine origin of the Koran became the dogma of the orthodox party and the gibbet was turned in the other direction, and it has ever since remained there.

But the orthodoxy of Bagdad could not for a long time satisfy the mythological and philosophical instincts of Persia. Islamism soon altered its form by admitting into its bosom the whole of the old popular mythology which gathered round the heroic figure of Ali. The new religion, Shiaism which sprang from it, combined in itself the two inferior elements of both the parent religions viz., the mythological extravagance of ancient Persia and the dogmatic intolerance of Islam. This Shiaism, which has done so much for the moral degradation of Persia was good for the people and for a great number of the priests, but was insufficient for the better few. Learning and unbelief influenced some to abjure more or less openly the Moslem faith, and mysticism influenced the others. At the time of Firdusi, these two contrary movements were represented by two poets, the one by the physician Avicenne and the other by the dervish Abu Sayed.

The name of Avicenne was honoured in Europe. Dante met him in the lower world among the sages who were unacquainted with Christ. But the veneration of the Middle Ages has made for him an equivocal reputation hardly merited by him. While in his time and in his own country he was one of the boldest combatants of the good fight, our Middle Ages have made him the incarnation of routine and of authority. Thanks to the imbecility of his Western disciples, his *canons* tyrannized over medicine till the last century, and this champion of free inquiry was made to impede its progress in Europe. What apostle is there that would ever open his lips if he could see beforehand the mass

of his proselytes? What teacher would give expression to his thoughts if he could see what would become of his words?

Avicenne was born near Bokhara in the year 983. Under a celebrated physician of the time he studied all the learning of those days, the Isagoge of Porphyry, Euclid and Almageste. At sixteen he cured the Emir and become his favourite physician. At the fall of the Samanides, he visited by turns the courts of the princes of Khiva, Tus, Ispahan, Hamadan &c., was received everywhere as a prince, loaded with honours, nominated Vazir, driven out by seditions, threatened with death by the soldiery, thrown into prison by his masters; an exile at one time, a fugitive at another, he always led a life of business, pleasure and learning; the day was devoted to business, the night to pleasure and study.

Having no time for sleep, he tried to make up for it by wine. He died aged fifty, worn out by work and pleasure. Tradition speaks of his having died in prison wherein he was thrown by his protector, the prince of Ispahan, after having been put in the pillory. A poet writes:—"I saw Avicenne who was so much sought after by the great, die the worst of deaths in a prison. His book of *Cure* could not cure him, his work on *Salvation* could not save him." He has left a whole library of natural science, of medicine, of metaphysics, of alchemy too, and at the same time a doubtful reputation among the orthodox: "His works are dangerous and have ruined many a man." Statesman, physician and fast-liver, Avicenne was also a poet.

A great number of his poems that have come down to us are poems in honour of wine; I do not say they are bacchanalian. The foreigner is at first astonished and a little scandalized at the place which wine occupies in Persian poetry. Nothing, however, could be more unlike our bacchanalian songs. The songs of Europe are nothing but the carols of drunkards, whereas those of Persia are strains of revolt against the Koran, against bigotry and against the

tyranny exercised by religion over nature and over reason. For the poet, he who drinks is the representative of the emancipated man; but for the mystic, wine is something still more; it is the symbol of divine intoxication. In the protestations of Avicenne, the physician and the free-thinker speak by turns. Here is what the physician says:—

"Wine is the enemy of the drunkard and the friend of the sober;

"In small doses it acts like an antidote, in large ones like poison.

"Though bitter in taste like the counsels of a friend it is useful, and is permitted to sensible people, but forbidden to foolish ones."

The orthodox would certainly frown on reading these verses; but what would he do when he reads what follows?

"Is it the fault of wine if a fool drink it and go out blindly in the night? As for us, it is towards God that it leads us.

"If the decree of religion forbids its use to fools, the decree of reason permits its use to the wise.

"Drink wisely pure wine like Bu Ali (Avicenne); it will render thy existence divine, and this is as true as God exists."

This thinly-veiled blasphemy could hardly escape the eyes of the inquisitor. Accusations of impiety rained on him from all sides but left him unmoved:—

"With these two or three asses, such asses that they think themselves wit-possessed of all in the world, pretend to be an ass yourself,

"For such is the gross ignorance of these fools that they call him stupid who is not so ignorant as they are."

Elsewhere he repudiates this charge of impiety with an insolent indignation which is a fresh blasphemy. Has he not the supreme faith, the faith of learning?—and if he is an infidel, where is the true believer?

"Impiety like mine is not a trifling or an easy thing; there is none that has a faith more solid than mine.

"In these times there is but one like me and I am a misbeliever! Why then, this century has not produced a single Mussulman."

He is proud of his learning which places a barrier between him and his fellows; he has solved all the problems of the universe from the bottom of the earth to Saturn: he has

escaped all the snares and all the tricks of nature; there is but one knot which he has not been able to untie, viz., that of Death. However, this learning, so powerful, carries within itself its own poison, viz., conscience. He is possessed by the pessimism of Hartmann; see, with what depth of simplicity he expresses it:—

"Would to God, I did not know what I am and why I am taken in the giddiness of the world!

"When happy, I should have lived in tranquillity and joy; when unhappy, I could have shed copious tears."

Miserable indeed is the grandeur of the thought which, dried up by analysis and self-examination, knows neither enjoyment nor suffering. Reason has raised humanity from the state of ignorance to that of knowledge, and if humanity has a desire to live, a higher reason must lead it back to the state of inconscience and ignorance. The *gnôthi Séauton* (Know Thou Thyself) is the first step towards suicide.

He comes back then towards God, the good and merciful God, the most convenient support after all that the weakness of man has as yet invented:—

"In the goodness of God we have a protector, for it is He who frees us from the consequences of our acts be they good or bad.

"Where there is Thy grace, what *has not been done* is as it *were done*, and what *has been done* is as it *were not done*."

XII

"No", replies a voice, that of the dervish Abu Sayed:—

"Oh thou who hast done no good deeds and hast done bad ones do not think thyself saved.

"Do not depend upon the goodness of God! for it shall never be that what *has not been* may ever be *has been* and what *has been* may be *has not been*."

Abu Sayed was born in Khorassan fifteen years before Avicenne; here is how he became a dervish.

One day he entered the town of Sarakhs; near the gate on a heap of ashes he found the Sheik Lokman surnamed the Mad, busy sewing a piece into his tunic of skin. Abu

Sayed mounted up to him and observed what he was doing. Lokman continued sewing the piece on which fell the shadow of Abu Sayed standing in the sun ; the former raising his head said :—

" Abu Sayed, I have just sewn thee to this mantle of dervish." Saying this, he took him by the hand and led him to a neighbouring convent and giving him in the charge of the Sheik said : " Abul Fadhl, take care of this young man, he is one of thine."

Abu Sayed stayed in a corner of the convent for seven years with his ears stopped, and slept neither in the day nor in the night, but kept on crying " Allah ! Allah," till the doors and walls echoed " Allah ! Allah !". He then disappeared in the desert where he lived in the company of wild beasts and fed on the flowers of tamarind. His reputation for sanctity spread far and wide, and became so great that twenty *dinars* were paid for the rinds of cucumbers that dropped from his hands and men rubbed on their heads the excrements of his camel.

The piety of this Saint was not in conformity with the views of the masses. He was denounced as an unbeliever before the magistrate, and when he passed through the streets women mounted the roofs in order to throw on him the sweepings of their houses. He retired to Amol in Tabaristan to be near the Sheik Abul Abbas from whom he *saw* all that he afterwards knew. He died on Friday the 4th day of Shaban 440 (1062) aged a thousand months.

The poems which this ascetic has left behind him are almost all poems of love.

There are many points of dissimilarity between a Christian monk of the eleventh century and a dervish like Abu Sayed. The monk had a dread and horror of woman ; for him, woman was the instrument of perdition, love the snare of Satan. For the dervish too, love is a snare but of heaven. When one day Abu Sayed was asked, " What is love "?, he replied " Love is a snare of God, it is the trap of the Lord." Contemporary philosophy has found an analogous formula, but cruel in sense. For it, love is a snare of nature, which

in order to people and unpeople the world, must blind hearts and accomplish its objects by means of illusion and the deception of the beings. The idea of the dervish is different and one of gratitude. It is in human love that man for the first time rises above himself, and sees in the eyes of the beloved one a ray of divine splendour and "embraces the Infinite in his arms."*

> "Seraph of Heaven! too gentle to be human,
> Veiling beneath that radiant form of Woman
> All that is insupportable in thee
> Of light and love and immortality!
> An image of some bright Eternity,
> A shadow of some golden dream ..... a tender
> Reflection on the eternal Moon of love
> Under whose motions life's dull billows move."
>
> Shelley.

Epipsychidion is the best commentary on the quatrains of Abu Sayed.

Like Shelley, our dervish had experienced a purely human love without any celestial background, the love of Albertus.

"Emparadised in each other's arms, we conceived no other heaven than our own"

There is no doubt that it was some time before he had his shadow pricked by the needle of Lokman the Mad that he wrote this quatrain which Musset would have owned and which stood in no great need of mysticism :—

"We were together last night, I and my adored one so kind to her servant.

"From me there was nothing but prayers, from her nothing but caresses.

"The night soon wore away and left our story unfinished.

"It was no fault of the night, however, we had so much to talk to each other."

It is doubtful that there is anything of mysticism in these verses.

* Madame Ackermann.

"Afraid of rivals, I will no more haunt thy streets; afraid of public opinion, I will no more run after thee."

"I close my lips and remain sitting; but to cease to desire thee is what I cannot do."

But as the mystic thought awakes God takes possession of the loved one. The earth and the sky break up; there is no more of heaven and hell; the loved one *i. e.* the Infinite, and the lover who wishes to merge himself into *her*, to annihilate himself into *Him*, are the only two beings on earth. But the double meaning, the divine and the human, continues to run through these cries, the human sense elevating in the void the mystic sense and lending it a strange reality :—

"The day on which I shall be united to thee I shall despise the lot of the angels of paradise.

"And if I am called to the broad fields of Elysium without thee, my heart shall feel pinched for room in the broad fields of Elysium."

Is this the indignation of love rejecting a happiness not shared with the beloved one?

"A grave is enough, I do not wish a world to stand up between us two."

Or is it disdain of the simple joys of heaven in a soul that has dreamt of something better for the judgment day? What has he who has dreamed of supreme love to do with heaven?

"Glory to the Angels; honour to Ridhvan,*
Hell to the Wicked; paradise to the Good;
This world here to Jem,† to Cæsar and to Khakan,
To me, my beloved one, and to my love, my soul."

Is it not from her that the rose takes its lustrous beauty which illumines the whole grove? Is it not her face that lends its purity to the mirror of the heart? From the win-

* The keeper of paradise.

† Jem, the ruler of Persia; Cæsar, the ruler of Constantinople; Khakan, the ruler of the Turks.

dow of every house illumined by the glow of her cheeks particles of light are carried away by the sun, the sun of God that beautifies the souls and makes of their dust a ray of divine splendour. Everything is in her, even the lover who merges himself in Her.

" I asked her : ' Why dost thou deck thyself thus ?' "

" She replied, ' For myself, because at one and the same time

" I am Love, Lover and Loved ; I am the mirror, the beauty and the eye.' "

Will he die without having a glimpse of her ? " Raise thy veil from thy face and show thy beauty in order that I may not carry regret till the day of judgment." His heart has many a time turned over the leaves of the book of Love without ever finding the face which was worthy of love. When ill, he hies himself in the search of a physician, confides to him his hidden malady and asks for a remedy :—

" He told me :—' Open not thy lips except before thy beloved.' "

" I asked him—' With what am I to nourish myself ?' "

" He replied :—' With thy heart's blood.' "

" I asked him :—' What am I to abstain myself from ?' "

" He replied :—' From the good things of both the worlds'. "

But is He made for Her ? Will grace descend on him ? Yes, more than grace, the *Predestination of Love.* " Marriages are made in heaven," says a Jewish proverb, and in the Vedas, Yama is told by his love Yami, " The gods made us for each other while we were in the mother's womb." We are told, it is true, that in this every-day world such as God made it, in a careless minute anybody can love and be loved by anybody ; perhaps, in fact, this is Supreme wisdom for assuring the continuity of things and for keeping the pot of the universe boiling. Poetry has not yet gone so far and believes in Supreme election. But when the beloved one is the Eternal Truth and the lover the Divine Soul in its mortal form, the election is of all eternity :—

" Before the gods had raised the vault of the firmament, before

they had built the crystal palace of the heavens, when I was sleeping peacefully in the City of Nothingness, they had imprinted thy name on mine."

"There were then neither the stars nor the skies; the water, the air, the fire, the earth were not: I had already proclaimed the mystery of unity when this body, this voice and this thought had no existence."

One would like to know on what mortal lips the dervish read by turns the divine mystery, from what roses he inhaled the celestial perfume, and like the statue of Condillac became the perfume of rose.

The names of his Zuleikas and of his Leilas would take their place side by side with the Marys, the Emilias and the Madonnas of Shelley; one would hear the eternal dialogue of the *Divine Legend*, of Dante and Beatrice, of Petrarch and Laura, of Shelley and Antigone, of Faust and Helen.

"Did I meet thee in the realities of this world, or art thou the dream of the sick soul?"

"Thou *didst* meet me in the realities of this world, and I *am* the dream of thy sick soul."

Thus passed away the life of the ascetic, celebrating in action and in dream what a young English poet, at the distance of a thousand leagues and after an interval of nine centuries, called recently in a line worthy of Shelley or Keats

"Soul's worship at the temple of the flesh."

In the same way did the old Persian dervish say in his cell in the desert:—

"He who has his heart enthralled by beauty will always remain a thrall and will never break the chain by which he is bound."

"*In the form of clay he has read the meaning of the soul*, and will remain with his heart's foot sticking to the clay till the day of resurrection."

The Christian monk believes and practises. Does the Dervish believe? Perhaps. Like the priest of Nemi he is too far advanced in the divine to stop to God. As for wor-

ship, what would he do with it? Worship brings nearer to God him who is away from Him, and takes farther him who is near to Him. The dervish is too holy to afford to be pious. There was about this time in Tus an honoured Sheik by name Mashook, who was the friend and adviser of Firdusi and who was visited by Abu Sayed. This Sheik had never prayed in his life, still "On the day of resurrection the just will say 'Would to God that we were the dust trodden by the feet of Sheik Mashook!'" These saints so free from the heavy yoke of the Law inspired among the masses a veneration mingled with suspicions. In an age of belief the masses understand with difficulty

"Nec pietas ulla est velatum sæpe videri.
Vortier ad lapidem. . . . . *"

"When the heart is twisted," says Abu Sayed, "of what avail is thrusting the brow in the dust?"

"When the poison has entered the heart, of what avail is the antidote?"

"Thou adornest thy body with clothes; but of what use are white clothes on an impure heart?"

Abu Sayed had experienced to his cost that the piety of the masses expects something else from the saint. Perhaps in his heart he justified the conduct of the women who insulted him, and repeated when undergoing their affronts "Sancta simplicitas!" Later on when deified in his lifetime, remorseful of hypocrisy, he thinks of the misunderstanding which had won him so much of adoration, of the little that is common between him and his fanatical admirers:—

"Those who speak well of me do not know all the evil that is lurking at the bottom."

"If they drew out what is hidden inside, they would perforce burn me alive."

Abu Sayed has written quatrains summarising the attributes of God, and these the faithful used to recite in the form of prayer. They would have shuddered if they had

* Lucretius.

perceived the meaning of the writer. But two centuries previous to this, Hallaj the first Sufi, was tortured with great pomp. This Sufi in the midst of tortures uttered but one phrase

"I am God." And now the magnates and the priests came to kiss the feet of the dervish who said :—

" The Saint instructed in the mysteries of knowledge goes out of himself and walks with God."

" Deny thy own existence, affirm that of God. Here is the meaning of the formula :—There is no God but Allah."

However, the pantheism of Abu Sayed is not so decided and pronounced as that of the poets who will appear later on, and it is on this account that he is so great a poet. *Science* the name then given to mystic intuition, is not for him, as it will be for his successors, a fixed and established doctrine, a tradition received from the old masters, a subject to be versified. It is he that created this science and nourished it with his blood and tears, being all the time a prey to the anguish, the doubts and the contradictions of his heart. His great imitator Omar Khayyam, the algebraist poet, will have the force of implacable certainty : but this is a force which in poetry is almost a weakness, for it is fatal to emotion. Human suffering is the danger of pantheism. He attempts in vain to be stoical and silent :—

" Oh my heart, when the separation of thy beloved one causes thy veins to burst, do not let anybody see thy rags smeared with blood."

" Groan without letting any one hear thy complaint, consume thyself without letting any smoke issue."

But in spite of him, it is not the smoke, it is the flame itself which issues from the volcano. No doubt it is good to say.

" Silence alone is great, all the rest is weakness." *

But this cry itself is already a complaint and a weakness, and it is then the time for God, not of the universal God, gloomy and blind, but of the living God who says *I*

* Alfred de Vigny.

who listens and who responds. You know that this God is only in yourself : what does it matter, pray all the same ; there will certainly be Somebody to receive your prayers somewhere, were it but at the bottom of your own heart.

Like Moses he is alone, he feels himself alone, irrevocably alone, separated from the common herd by the grandeur of his dream, and from him too escapes the cry

" Oh God, thou hast made me powerful and solitary",

The cry of painful reproach and of pride.

" Oh God ! come to my aid for I am alone."

" Thou hast made me without a confidant, without a friend, without a companion, thou hast made me to live in pain, in suffering and in sorrow."

" This is the lot of those who approach Thy threshold ; Oh God ! for what work hast Thou made me such ? "

Poor stranger, weary of this life, expecting no rest except in the City of Nothingness, he watches in the silence of the night; perhaps God will come.

" All the doors are closed, all the men are asleep: Oh God ! open to me the doors of Thy bounty."

And in the hours of impotence or of remorse, when the soul frightened at its destiny or at its faults, looks desperately around for an encouraging or an enlightening voice to which it can say, "Be my strength," or "Be my conscience," what happiness if it can send up to heaven its best voice and hear it come back to itself enlarged and irresistible, the internal voice, the voice of stifled nobility, the voice which said, " Courage," but so lowly amidst the tumult of others, that he could hear it with difficulty.

" Oh Lord ! I am overwhelmed with shame for my faults, I blush for my evil words and deeds ;"

" Cause to descend to my heart an effluvium of the invisible world in order to purify it of all bad fancies."

The surest of effuvia, that of divine clemency, will descend to him.

" My faults are more numerous than the drops of rain, and my head bends down with shame for my faults."

"But a voice comes down to me saying, "Take courage, dervish, thou hast acted according to thy nature, I will act according to mine."

The Evangel has not a word of a sublimity gentler than this. To perceive all that is Christain in Abu Sayed, we must take up these verses and see what they become in the hands of his great disciple, the algebraist of Nishapur.

One day when Omar Khayyam was conversing with some friends on a terrace on a moonlit night, drinking wine and singing songs, a puff of wind extinguished the lamp, and upsetting the wine-jug broke it. The irritated poet launched a quatrain against God who thus disturbed him in his pleasures :

"Thou hast broken my jug, Lord:

"Thou hast closed against me the door of pleasure, Lord;

"Thou hast spilt on the ground my pure wine;

"(Heaven strangle me!)—but can it be that thou wast drunk Lord!"

The poet has hardly uttered this blasphemy, when looking into his mirror he sees his face black like coal: he exclaims:

"Say, what man on earth has not sinned? Say, how could he have lived who has not sinned?"

"What difference is there between Thee and me,? Say, if for the evil I did Thou punishest me with evil."

Abu Sayed ended by accepting on his own account the hopes which he had condemned in Avicenne. These two men were known to each other, tradition at least brings them together. It is said that these two men met one day at the house of a common friend and conversed with each other. When they parted they were asked their opinion of each other. Avicenne said : "He *sees* all that I know." Abu Sayed said : "He *knows* all that I do not see." Tradition seems to have taken a correct measure of the gulf that separated these two men and the two methods. There is no doubt that it placed the *knower*

much below the *seer*. Learning will always cut a poor figure before intuition ; the former is too practical, it leaves us too much to ourselves, talks to us a great deal too much of ourselves and of our little world, a sorry subject at best which soon wearies us. "Ignorance is a hundred times better than the knowledge which does not snatch thee from thyself." The dervish under his robe of wool knows more of this than the great physician with all his knowledge of Aristotle. "The more one knows of the world, the less one knows of God." One day Abu Sayed was asked, "What is a dervish ?" he replied :—

"Divest thyself of all that thou hast in thy head, give all that thou hast in thy hand, do not start at anything that may happen to thee, and thou wilt be a dervish."—

"Where can one look for a dervish like this ?"—

"Where didst thou look for him that thou hast not yet found him ?"

XIII.

"Console thyself : thou wouldst not seek me if thou hadst not found me."

In the great dialogue which is being eternally carried on since the birth of man between the heavens and earth, what breeze had wafted to the Caspian an echo of the words which Pascal in the darkness of the night heard Christ murmur to him ?

THE END.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE PERSIAN DOMINIONS,

FROM ITS BEGINNING TILL THE FALL OF THE SASANIAN DYNASTY.

[Reprinted from the BOMBAY BRANCH ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S JOURNAL.]

ART. II.—*Christianity in the Persian dominions, from its beginning till the fall of the Sasanian dynasty.* By E. REHATSEK.

The Chaldæan diocese—Seleucia the capital of which was the first episcopal seat occupied by Maris, whom Thaddæus or Addæus, one of the seventy-two disciples, had sent there—comprised at first a small extent of territory, and depended for some time upon the patriarch of Antioch; afterwards, however, it became not only independent, but so enlarged that it embraced, besides all the countries formerly under the sway of Persia, from Mesopotamia to the extreme boundaries of Turkestán, also China and India.[1]

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[1] A very old document on the early propagation of Christianity occurs in A. P. de Lagarde's *Reliquiæ Juris Ecclesiastici Antiquissimæ*, Viennæ, 1856, but it is here inserted from the *Ancient Syriac Documents relative to the earliest Establishment of Christianity*, by the Rev. W. Cureton, D.D., &c., London, 1864, pp. 33-34, and headed "The Doctrine of the Apostles":—

"And by the Hand of Priesthood, which the Apostles themselves had received from the Lord, their Gospel was spread abroad in the four quarters of the world rapidly. And while they visited one another they ministered to each other.

"Jerusalem received the Hand of Priesthood, and all the country of Palestine, and the parts of the Samaritans and the Philistines, and the country of the Arabians, and of Phœnicia, and the people of Cæsarea, from James, who was Ruler and Guide in the Church of the Apostles which had been built in Sion.

"The great Alexandria, and Thebais, and the whole of Inner Egypt, and all the country of Pelusium, and even to the borders of the Indians, received the Apostles' Hand of Priesthood from Mark the Evangelist, who was Ruler and Guide there in the church which he had built there, and ministered.

"India, and all its own countries, and those bordering on it, even to the further sea, received the Apostles' Hand of Priesthood from Judas Thomas, who was Guide and Ruler in the church which he built there, and ministered there.

"Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia, and Galatia, even to Pontus, received the Apostles' Hand of Priesthood from Simon Cephas, who himself laid the foundation of the church there, and was Priest, and ministered there up to the time when he went up from thence to Rome, on account of Simon the Sorcerer, who was deceiving the people of Rome by his sorceries.

"The city of Rome, and all Italy, and Spain, and Britain, and Gaul, together with the other remaining countries which bordered on them, received the Apostles' Hand of Priesthood from Simon Cephas, who went up

The toparch Abgar,[2] a contemporary of Christ and a tributary of the Romans,[3] founded the city of Edessa, in the part of Mesopotamia called Osroene, and separated from it by the emperor Trajan. This place Abgar fortified, as he probably intended to revolt from the Romans on account of his close relations with Persia, whither he

became Ruler and Guide there in the church which he built there, and in its environs.

"Ephesus and Thessalonica, and all Asia, and all the country of the Corinthians, and of all Achaia and its environs, received the Apostles' Hand of Priesthood from John the Evangelist, who had leaned upon the bosom of the Lord, who built a church there, and was Priest and ministered there in his office of Guide there.

"Nicæa, and Nicomedia, and all the country of Bithynia and of Gothia, and of the regions round about it, received the Apostles' Hand of Priesthood from Andrew, the brother of Simon Cephas, who was Guide and Ruler in the church which he built there, and was Priest and ministered there.

"Byzantium, and the country of Thrace, and its environs, even to the great river, the border which separates between Barbarians, received the Apostles' Hand of Priesthood from Luke the Apostle, who built a church there, and ministered there in his office of Ruler and Guide there.

"Edessa and all its environs which were on all sides of it, and Soba [the same with Nisibis, *Diss. de. Syris Nest.*, *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. II, p. dcclxviii.], and Arabia, and all the north, and the regions round about it, and the south, and all the places of the borders of Mesopotamia, received the Apostles' Hand of Priesthood from Addæus the Apostle, one of the seventy-two Apostles, who taught there and built a church there, and was Priest and ministered there in his office of Guide there.

"The whole of Persia, of the Assyrians and Armenians and Medians, and of the countries round about Babylon, the Huzites and the Gelæ, even to the borders of the Indians, and even the country of Gog and Magog, and again all the countries from all sides, received the Apostles' Hand of Priesthood from Aggæus, a maker of golden chains, the disciple of Addæus the Apostle.

"But the rest of the other followers of the Apostles went to the distant countries of the Barbarians, and taught from place to place, and passed on, and there they ministered with their preaching; there also was their departure out of this world, while their disciples after them continued to go, up to the present day. And there was no change or addition made by them to what they preached.

"But Luke the Evangelist had this diligence, and wrote the Triumphs of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Ordinances and Laws of the ministry of their Priesthood, and whither each one of them went. By this diligence, therefore, Luke wrote these things, and more than these, and he placed them in the hands of Priscus and Aquilas, his disciples; and they accompanied him even up to the day of his death; like as Timothy and Erastus, of Lystra and Menaus, the first disciples of the Apostles, accompanied Paul until he went up to the city of Rome, because he had withstood the orator Tertullus. And Nero the Emperor slew him with the sword, and Simon Cephas, in the city of Rome."

[2] *Abgar* seems to have been a title common to all the toparchs of Edessa: *Ancient Syriac Documents*, Cureton, *Notes*, p. 140. He is always called king by Syriac writers, but Assemani, *Bibl. Or. Clementino Vaticana*, i. 261, says: "*Abgari* hoc prænomine omnes Toparchæ Edesseni appellabantur, non secus ac Imperatores Romani *Cæsares*."

[3] *Moses of Chorene*, bk. II., ch. xxvi., *Ancient Syriac Documents*, edited by W. Cureton, D.D., &c., London, 1864. Moses of Chorene wrote about A.D. 440.

had, according to the accusations of his enemies, such as Pilate, Herod the tetrarch, Lysanias and Philippus, undertaken a journey to apply for troops. Abgar tried to excuse himself, but was not believed; therefore he sent two of his principal officers to Marinus, who was then the governor of Phœnicia, Syria, and Mesopotamia. The deputies found the Roman governor in Eleutheropolis, and were received by him with friendship and distinction. They were sent back with the following reply to Abgar:—"Fear nothing on that account from the emperor, provided thou takest great care to pay the tribute wholly." On their return journey the Armenian deputies, attracted by the rumour of the miracles of Christ, went to Jerusalem, and having become eye-witnesses of them reported what they had seen.

Then Abgar, who had since his return from Persia been afflicted with acute rheumatic pains all over his body, despatched the following letter to Christ[4]:—

"Abgar Uchama,[5] Chief of the country, to Jesus, the good Deliverer who has appeared in the country of Jerusalem, Peace! I have heard about thee, and about the cures which are wrought by thy hands, without medicines and herbs; for, as it is reported, thou makest the blind to see, and the lame to walk; and thou cleansest the lepers, and thou castest out unclean spirits and devils, and thou healest those who are tormented with lingering diseases, and thou raisest the dead. And when I heard these things about thee I settled in my mind one of two things,—either that thou art God, who, being come down from heaven, doest these things, or that thou art the Son of God and doest these things. On this account, therefore, I have written to request of thee that thou wouldst trouble thyself to come to me, and cure this disease which I have: for I have also heard that the Jews murmur against thee, and wish to do thee harm. But I have a city, small and beautiful, which is enough for two."

Copy of those things which were written from Jesus by the hand of Hananias the Tabularius, to Abgar, the Chief of the country:—

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[4] This letter is here given, with the reply to it, from the *Ancient Syriac Documents*, edited by Cureton; it is translated from the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. Le Vaillant's French translation is from Moses of Chorene; both give the same meaning. Dr. Cureton says in his *Notes*, p. 155, that the practice of keeping the above letter as a phylactery prevailed in England till the last century, and he has a recollection of having seen the same thing in cottages in Shropshire.

[5] Abgar Uchama, *i.e.* the black, was the 15th toparch: *Chronicon Edessenum*, *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, 1. 420.

"Blessed is he that believeth in me, not having seen me. For it is written concerning me that those who see me will not believe in me, and those who have not seen me they will believe and be saved. But touching what thou hast written to me, that I should come to thee, it is meet that I should fulfil here everything for the sake of which I have been sent: and after I have fulfilled it, then I shall be taken up to him that sent me; and when I have been taken up, I will send to thee one of my disciples that he may heal thy disease, and give salvation to thee and to those who are with thee."[6]

The disciple promised to be sent was despatched after the ascension of Christ by Thomas, one of the twelve, to cure Abgar and to preach the Gospel. He was Thaddæus, one of the seventy or seventy-two disciples, whose fame spread soon after his arrival in Edessa, so that Abgar called him to his presence. When Thaddæus entered, Abgar perceived something wonderful in his countenance, got up from the throne, and prostrating himself said, "Art thou really a disciple of the ever blessed Jesus? Art thou he whom he promised to send me, and canst thou cure my maladies?" Thaddæus replied, "Yes, if thou believest in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the wishes of thy heart will be heard." "I have believed in Jesus," said Abgar, "I have believed in his Father; and therefore I intended to march at the head of my troops to exterminate the Jews who have crucified Jesus, had I not been impeded by the power of the Romans."

From that time Thaddæus began to preach to the toparch and the inhabitants of the city; he cured not only Abgar, but all the sick and infirm people, so that Abgar was baptized (A.D. 31[7]), and the whole city with him. The temples of the false gods were shut up, and the statues of idols placed on altars or columns were concealed by veiling them with reeds. Abgar compelled no one by force to embrace the religion, but the number of believers increased day by day.

After his conversion Abgar wrote to the emperor Tiberius informing him of the crucifixion of Jesus, and desiring him to issue orders that Christ should throughout the whole world be adored as the true God. The reply of the emperor was as follows:—

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[6] Concerning this reply the opinion of Assemani (*Bibl. Or.*, I. p. 554) is as follows:—"Christus Dominus non alia ratione eius Epistolæ auctor dici debet quam sermonum evangelicorum, quos proprio quidem ore protulit, literis tamen nequaquam ipse mandavit."

[7] *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, I. p. 389. Also *Ancient Syriac Documents*, Cureton, *Notes*, p. 147.

"Tiberius, Emperor of the Romans, to Abgar, King of the Armenians, Salutation. Thy gracious letter has been read to me, and I desire thanks to be offered to thee for it on my part. Although we have already heard these facts narrated by several persons, Pilate has officially informed me of the miracles of Jesus. He has certified to us that Jesus has after his resurrection been by several persons acknowledged to be God. Therefore I was also desirous to do what thou proposest; but, as it is customary among the Romans not to admit a god by order of the sovereign alone, before the admission has been discussed and examined in full senate, I was obliged to propose the whole to the Senate, but it was rejected with disdain,—no doubt because the question had not been first examined by the Senate; but we have issued orders that all who choose may receive Jesus among the gods. We have threatened with death every one who might speak evil of Christians. As to the Jewish nation, which has dared to crucify Jesus, who, as I am informed, far from deserving the cross and death, was worthy of the honour and of the adoration of men, I shall, when I am disengaged from the war against Spain, which has revolted, examine the affair, and deal with the Jews as they deserve."[8]

The progress made by Christianity under Abgar was attempted to be checked by his son who succeeded him, who hated the religion and atrociously persecuted its adherents, but came to a miserable end. Sanadrug, the next king, and son of Abgar's sister, was of the same disposition, and the Armenians narrate that during his reign the apostles Bartholomew and Thaddæus were slain.[9] With this statement also Moses of Chorene[10] agrees, but asserts that after the demise of Abgar the kingdom of Armenia was divided into two parts,—Anamún, the son of Abgar, reigning in Edessa, and Sanadrug, the just-mentioned nephew of Abgar, in Armenia. Sanadrug apostatized from fear of the Armenian satraps; whilst Anamún reopened the temples of the idols, became a pagan, and had the legs of St. Addæus cut off, who immediately expired. St. Bartholomew suffered martyrdom in the town of Arepon, and Simon in Persia. Sanadrug, whom Flavius Josephus, in his *Antiquities of the Jews*, calls Izates, being desirous of becoming the sovereign of the whole of Armenia,

[8] Moses of Chorene, xxxiii.

[9] *Chronicon Edessenum*, *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, I. 421.

[10] Ch. xxxiii.

besieged Edessa, which the inhabitants surrendered, with the treasures of Abgar, on condition of being left unmolested in their profession of the Christian religion; but he failed to keep his promise, and also slew all the male offspring of Abgar, sparing only his daughters, whom he exiled to the district of Hashdiank. Helena, the wife of Abgar, being unwilling to dwell in the midst of idolaters, went to Jerusalem during the reign of the emperor Claudius, and there distributed an enormous quantity of corn; which she had bought with all her treasures in Egypt to feed the poor, when a famine raged in Jerusalem, as Josephus also testifies, who, however, likewise asserts that she "embraced Jewish customs."[11]

Thaddæus on leaving Edessa is said to have preached chiefly at Arbela, which was the capital of Adiabene, at Nisibis, Beth-Garma, and Mosul, whilst his chief coadjutor Maris did so in Babylon, in the adjoining provinces of Persia beyond the Tigris, dwelling, however, chiefly in Seleucia and Ctesiphon,[12] the capital of Persia, where he converted many to the faith, and built several churches, in one of which he was buried. Achis, the other assistant of Thaddæus, went to the south, taught in the province of Ahváz (called Susiana by the Greeks, but at present Khuzistán), and returning to Edessa died there. Afterwards the number of Christians was considerably increased by the prisoners whom the Persians captured in their wars with the Romans, and who being dispersed in various districts of Persia propagated their religion in them. In times of war the government always suspected the Christians of sympathizing with their Roman co-religionists, and not seldom persecuted them on that account; whilst the Romans were in their turn apprehensive that Persian Christians coming among them did so as spies. One example of this estrangement between the Persian and the Roman Christians occurred very early, namely, when the successors of Maris in Seleucia were under the necessity of coming up to Antioch for ordination, which custom could not be kept up, because Demetrius, the patriarch of that city, had, after ordaining Ahad-Abovia, *i.e.* Jabachue, who was the sixth or eighth Catholicus of Seleucia, on that account been denounced to the Roman governor of Syria as a traitor to the republic and a friend to the Persians. Ahad-Abovia indeed saved himself by flight to Jerusalem, but his companion

[11] *Antiq. of the Jews*, bk. xx., ch. i. 1.

[12] Usually called *The two cities*, المدائن Al-Madayn.

Kam-Jesus, with his host, who was also a priest, was crucified in front of the Church of the Apostles; wherefore the patriarchs of Antioch, dreading further repetitions of similar calamities, henceforth allowed the Persian bishop of Seleucia to be ordained among his own people, and so become the vicegerent of the patriarch of Antioch in the more remote East likewise. For this reason the bishop of Seleucia was surnamed *Catholicus* (Καθολικὸς), whereby they intended to designate a procurator-general.[13]

Christianity flourished in Edessa side by side with paganism, the

[13] *Oriens Christianus* of Le Quien, II. p. 1079.—The synodic letter despatched on the above occasion from the Occidental to the Oriental patriarchs, proceeds after the preamble as follows:—"Accordingly we, the pastors, admonished by the persecution we suffer, recall to our minds the words of the scripture which says, There will be no measure to tribulation, chiefly to us who are Christians; so that at the same time the innocent blood of two Fathers was shed, which has shocked the whole earth, and has filled with mourning the Occidental as well as the Oriental Church. After these two Fathers, the one being of the West and the other of the East, had perished,—both were, namely, hanged at the gate of the Church of the Apostles in Antioch,—it is considered proper by our brothers and by ourselves, lest our Christian brothers living in the East should remain orphans, that whenever the great Metropolitan who holds in Seleucia, the royal city of the Arsacides, the government of the whole East, dies, no Metropolitan is to come up to Antioch in order to receive his ordination, according to the ancient custom, lest hereafter the innocent blood of prelates should be shed, on account of discord and hatred among kings, as has happened in this our age; we have, namely, beheld a sad and lamentable spectacle, namely, two Fathers hanging naked on two crosses; wherefore a tempest of persecution arose simultaneously both in the East and in the West." Afterwards instructions are given how the Catholicus or Patriarch is to be elected, he being in all things the father and ordinator of the metropolitans as well as of the bishops, who are, however, not to give judgment against him, this judicial function being reserved for his equals, *i. e.* the other three patriarchs, the whole number of whom, governing the entire Christian world, amounted at that time to four only. "But," says the document, "if it ever should happen that the government [of the Persians] is at peace with us, the government itself is to give judgment, and the case of the patriarch is to be decided by the mandate of the king." When the Christian sects became estranged from each other, it was asserted by some that this letter had been fabricated by the Nestorians, who are said to have made use of it as a privilegium to justify their defection from the Catholic Church and from the patriarch of Antioch; Assemani himself believed that it had been concocted by the Nestorian patriarch Josephus, who had A.D. 552, been appointed by Nushirvan, and who died A.D. 566. (*Bibl. Or. Ass.* III., pt. 1., p. 58.) The Nestorians believe that their doctrines are the most ancient, and have never changed since the times of the Apostles, and that therefore they are the most orthodox of all Christian sects. Nestorius, as will be mentioned further on, was a contemporary of his greatest antagonist, Cyrillus, after whom another sect was named, but he lived ninety years before Jacobus, and therefore the Nestorian sect is also in this respect older than that of the Jacobites. Nestorius and Cyrillus anathematized each other, but the former spontaneously abdicated and went into exile, whilst the latter retained the patriarchal seat, with his doctrine, by the aid of the Empress, the wife of Theodosius. When the doctrines of Nestorius reached the East the Christians there found them to be entirely the same with those handed down to and followed by them from the times of the Apostles.

adherents of which always took opportunity to persecute its professors when the government happened to favour paganism. Thus, for instance, in the fifteenth year of the emperor Trajan, which corresponds to A.D. 112, Barsamya, the bishop of the Christians, converted and baptized Sharbil, who had been the high-priest of the idols, and was accused to Lysanias the judge. Lysanias sent by night for Sharbil, had him taken from the church, and said, "Let nails be driven in between the eyes of the rebel, and let him go to that world which he is looking for," and the executioners did so.[14] Barsamya was accused to the judge in the following terms:—"We give information before your lordship respecting Barsamya, the Guide of the Christians, that he went up to Sharbil the high-priest, as he was standing and ministering before the gods, who are to be honoured, and sent and called him secretly; and he spoke to him out of the books which he reads in the church of their place of assembly, and he repeated to him the faith of the Christians, and said to him, 'It is not right for thee to worship many gods, but rather one God only, and his Son Jesus Christ,' until he converted and made him renounce the gods which he had formerly worshipped; and by the means of Sharbil himself many have also been converted and are gone down to the church, and to this day they confess Christ. Avida also, and Nebo, and Barcalba, and Hassai, honourable and chief persons of the city, have yielded to Sharbil in this; we therefore, as being the Sharirs of the city, make this known before your lordship, in order that we may not subject ourselves to punishment as offenders, because we had not made known before your lordship what things had been spoken in secret to Sharbil by Barsamya the Guide of the Church. Now, therefore, your lordship knoweth what is right to command respecting this same thing." After this accusation legal proceedings were instituted by the judge, who examined witnesses, and the prisoner Barsamya having been scourged was condemned to "be hanged up and torn by combs." At that moment, however, a letter arrived, which Dr. Cureton considers to be probably the most authentic copy of the edict of Trajan respecting the stopping of the persecution of the Christians.[15] The text of the edict is this:—"Since our Majesty gave orders that there should be a persecution of the Christians, we have heard and learned from our Sharirs which we have

[14] *Ancient Syriac Documents*, pp. 41 *et seq.*

[15] *Notes* to *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 186.

in the countries of the dominion of our Majesty that the people of the Christians are men who avoid murder, and sorcery, and adultery, and theft, and bribery, and fraud, and those things for which even the laws of our Majesty require punishment from such as do them: therefore, by the justice of our Rectitude, we have given command that on account of these things the persecution of the sword should cease for them, and that there should be rest and quietness in all our dominions, they continuing to minister according to their custom, and that no man should hinder them. But it is not that we show affection towards them, but towards their laws, which agree with the laws of our Majesty; and if any man hinder them after this our decree, that sword which is ordered by us to pass upon those who neglect our decree, the same have we ordered to pass upon those who slight this decree of our Clemency."[16] After the reading of this decree the city of Edessa rejoiced; the judge immediately released Barsamya, and the people received him with exceeding honour, repeating psalms before him according to their custom, thronged upon him, saluted him, and called him the Persecuted Confessor, friend of Sharbil the martyr. Christianity gradually radiated further from Edessa into Persia, but the whole of Armenia was christianized only under Persian vassalage in the beginning of the fourth century. The growth of the religion was also promoted by the blood of martyrs who died for it, as will appear further on.

The emperor Trajan died five years after the events just described, namely, in the beginning of August A.D. 117; they appear to have taken place during the reign of Maanes the son of Ajazeta, who was the 22nd Abgar or toparch of Edessa, and successor of Parnataspates or Parthamaspates. This Abgar, being equally afraid of the Parthians and the Romans, was unwilling to meet Trajan when he was in Antioch, but sent him legates with presents; so that Trajan saw the Abgar for the first time when he himself came to Edessa, where he was received with many honours and feasted in a banquet, during which the Abgar caused his own son to perform a dance for the amusement of the emperor.[17] Also Pagius shows that Trajan marched A.D. 112 to the East, to wage war against the Armenians and Parthians, and during the same year received the presents of the Abgar in Antioch; the war having lasted through A.D. 113 and 114,

[16] *Ancient Syriac Documents*, pp. 63-70.

[17] *Bibl. Or Ass.*, II. p. 422.

Trajan came to Edessa A.D. 115, where he saw the Abgar for the first time, after having conquered the whole of Armenia. When, however, Trajan marched against the Parthians, this same Abgar sided with them, wherefore Lucius, a general of Trajan, occupied Edessa and slew very many Christians. In 116, when after the capture of Nisibis the fleeing Parthians crossed the Tigris, and the Romans had conquered the whole of Adiabene, they marched to Babylon. After sacking Ctesiphon, Trajan assumed the title of Parthicus, and installed Parthamaspates, on whose head he placed a diadem, as the king of the Parthians; but, being detested by his subjects, the latter was deposed as soon as they were informed that Trajan had, on his journey to Italy, expired at the town of Selinus, in Cilicia, and they reinstalled their former king, Chosroes.[18]

After Chosroes had again begun to reign he restored tranquillity also to the churches, which were governed during twenty-one years by Jacobus the archbishop of Seleucia, where he also died and was buried, A.D. 139. Jacobus was the son of his predecessor Abraham, and was like him raised simultaneously through all the orders of priesthood: which circumstance is, however, contested by Assemani, on the plea that A'mru had invented it only in order to cloak the practice observed by his own sect, as it is contrary to all the sacred canons. Jacobus was succeeded by his own son Ahad-Abovia,[19] who governed the church during fifteen years, but after his demise the seat remained vacant three or more years. It has already been mentioned above that after his time the Catholicus of Persia was no longer ordained in Antioch, and the manner of doing so was as follows:—The bishop of Cascara proceeded to Seleucia, to take temporary charge of the widowed church, as soon as the Catholicus of Persia died, and invited by letter six or eight metropolitans to proceed to a new election. These prepared themselves by fasting and prayer in the church Dir Elkam, with the other clergy and the chief men of the laity. This assembly proposed certain candidates, whose number being finally reduced to three, their names were written on three papers, a fourth being inserted with the name of Christ as the chief pastor. These four slips of paper being folded into balls were placed under the altar, on which the

18 *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. II., pp. xl., xli.

19 A'mru says that this is a Syriac word meaning "brother of his father," because he resembled him very much :—و هو اسم سرياني و تفسيره اخو ابيه لانه كان اشبه الناس بابيه

sacred liturgy was celebrated. Then a little boy was made to pull out one ball; if it contained the name of a candidate he was proclaimed Catholicus, but if the name of Christ appeared on the paper none of the three were considered worthy, and the same process was gone over with three other candidates, and repeated until one was elected.

There appears to be some uncertainty about the period of the incumbency of Shaculfa, whom A'mru brings down to the reign of Shápúr I.,[20] which would make an interval of more than 70 years between him and his predecessor Ahad-Abovia. Assemani, who spells the name of Shaculfa in the Italian fashion, 'Sciachlupha,' states that he became Catholicus A.D. 162 and died A.D. 182. If we do not consider Shaculfa as the immediate successor of Ahad-Abovia, but the predecessor of Papas, which is just as probable, A'mru, who makes Schaculfa die in the fourth year of Shápúr the son of Ardashir, cannot be much at fault, because Papas presided over the church of Seleucia from A.D. 247 till 326. Assemani also calls Abgar the son of the above-mentioned Maanes, the 29th toparch, and states that he reigned from A.D. 200 till 217, and that he was an adherent of the Christian religion.[21]

In the beginning of the third century of our era, a revolution took place in Persia, in consequence of which the Sasanians came into power, and with them enmity towards the Armenians, whose kings were of the same race with those dethroned in Persia. Chosroes, the king of Armenia, marched against the Persians as soon as he learnt that Ardavan, the last Arsacide sovereign of Persia had been attacked by Ardashir, whom he in his turn assailed and defeated, but fell at last by the knife of an assassin. Accordingly Ardashir, thus delivered from a powerful antagonist, invaded and conquered Armenia (A.D. 232), which remained subject to Persia 27 years under him and Shápúr I., his son. Tiridates,[22] the son of Chosroes (Khosru), was taken to Rome when an infant, and returning as a man recovered the kingdom from the Persians by the aid of the Romans; he died after reigning for the long period of 51 years.

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[20] Began to reign A.D. 240.

[21] *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. II., p. xli.

[22] *Dertad* in Armenian.

Under the predecessors of Tiridates the Armenians followed a religion which was no doubt the same as that of the Parthians, *i.e.* probably a mixture of Zoroastrianism, of Greek mythology, and of some other doctrines brought by their ancestors from Scythia. In their temples numerous idols could be seen, to which animal sacrifices, never in vogue among Zoroastrians, were offered. The latter, it would appear, admitted during that period only the *Zervana akarana*, or 'time without bounds,' which the Greeks translated by *Saturn*, as their chief deity,[23] whilst the Armenians considered Ormuzd

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[23] This belief is represented in the ordinance of Mihr-Nerseh, the Persian governor of Armenia, addressed to the princes of that country. It was, as will afterwards appear, issued somewhat later than the period just now under discussion, being published A.D. 442, but it may suitably be inserted in this place. It is taken from the history of Elisæus on the wars of the general Vartan, composed in the 5th century, and therefore contemporaneous with the events described. Ch. ii., pp. 23-25 :—

"Mihr-Nerseh to the great governors and to the princes of Great Armenia, salutation!

"You know that every man who dwells under the sky and follows not the religion of the Masdaiasnians is deaf, blind, and deceived by the burning serpent of the Devs. Ere the heavens and the earth existed, the Great God Zervana made a prayer a hundred years ago and said, 'Perhaps a son will be born unto me, called Ormuzd, who will make the heavens and the earth.' Hereupon he conceived two infants in his womb, the one to make prayers, the other to say 'perhaps.' When he knew that both were in his womb, he said, 'He who will come the soonest, I will give him the empire.' He who had been conceived in unbelief burst his womb and issued forth. Zervana asked him, 'Who art thou?' 'Thy son Ormuz,' replied he. 'My son is brilliant with light and spreads a sweet odour,' answered Zervana, 'whilst thou art black and a friend of evil.' But, as he cried very bitterly, his father gave him the empire for a thousand years and called him Ahriman. Then he begat another son, whom he called Ormuzd, and taking away the empire from Ahriman gave it to him, saying, 'This day I address my prayer to thee, address also thine to me.' Hereupon Ormuzd created heaven and earth; but Ahriman, on the contrary, created evil. The creatures were divided in the same manner: the Angels come from Ormuzd, and the Devs from Ahriman; all the good which comes from heaven or from earth likewise proceeds from Ormuzd, and every evil spreading here and there comes in the same way from Ahriman. Whatever good exists in heaven is made by Ormuzd, and whatever is evil originates from Ahriman. All the hatreds and misfortunes which happen, and all disastrous wars, are effects of this wicked party; but, on the contrary, happy things—empire, glory, celebrity, health of body, beauty of countenance, truthful speech, and long life—originate from the good principle, and whatever is thus proceeds from it. But evil commingles itself with everything. All men who say that God has created death, and that good and evil come from him, are mistaken; as for instance the Christians, who say that God, having been irritated because his servant ate a fig, created death, and chastised man by this punishment. Thus God is liable to become angry, and, although not a man, has something in common with man. Moreover, although he is God he is assimilated to men; therefore it may reasonably be said that he who speaks thus is deaf, blind, and deceived by the serpent of the Devs. Then another

(Jupiter), Anahid (Venus), Mihir or Mithra (the sun), as the most powerful; they adored also Sbantarad, Vahaku, Parsham, Nané, and many other deities very little known to us. Tiridates, who had been converted by St. Gregory, embraced Christianity, which he had for a long time persecuted, before Constantine had become master of the Roman empire. The greater portion of his magnates and of his people followed his example. He called to his states many Greek and Syrian priests, who founded bishoprics, monasteries, and churches, and spread the Christian religion in all the provinces of Armenia. It was, however, necessary to fight sanguinary battles in order to establish it throughout the whole kingdom, but especially in the Daron country, which was by the Armenians considered a holy land on account of the multitude of temples it contained. There polytheistic priests defended themselves with great obstinacy; only by the sword could they be driven away, and churches founded. After Constantine had likewise embraced the Christian religion, and it became dominant in the Roman empire, the alliance uniting the latter for a long time to Armenia became still closer; but this change also furnished the kings of Persia with more than one pretext to carry fire and sword into Armenia, whither they were invited by the princes who had not abandoned the religion of their ancestors, and who con-

error has come, which is that of the people who say, 'God, who has made the heavens and the earth, has come, and was born of a certain woman called Mary, whose husband's name was Joseph;' and many persons have been deceived by this man. Yourselves, likewise, why do you follow their senseless errors? Embrace, therefore, the religion of your master; embrace it, for we have an account to render of you to God. Do not believe in your chiefs, whom you call Nazareans, because they are great rogues, and teach you by their words, but with their acts they do nothing. 'To eat meat,' say they, 'is not sin;' nevertheless they eat none. 'To take a wife is a proper thing,' say they again; but they do not even wish to look at any woman. According to them, those who accumulate riches commit a great sin. They praise poverty much more than riches; they boast of it and injure the rich; they insult the name of luck, and mock those who are covered with glory. They like coarse garments, and prefer vile things to those which are honourable. They praise death and despise life; they disdain to beget a human being, and praise barrenness. If you listen to them and no longer approach women, the end of the world will soon come. I do not wish to attack in this writing everything they say; but they have written the most detestable thing of all we have said, namely, that God was crucified by men, that he died, was buried, rose again, and ascended to heaven. Would it not be unworthy of you to make a reply to opinions so detestable? The Devs, who are wicked, cannot be taken and tormented by men, and it should be so with God, the creator of all creatures. It is shameful for us and for you to listen to things so unworthy of belief. Two things only remain to be done by you: either to make a reply article by article; or to make it and then to come to the court, that we may be in the midst of a great tribunal."

sidered their sovereign ot be an apostate. This is the cause why Armenia was for a long time distracted by religious wars.

Ardashir was (A.D. 240) succeeded by Shápúr I., who injured the Romans greatly by conquering the whole of Mesopotamia, and Antioch the capital of Syria; but Gordianus III. retook the just-mentioned city, and compelled the Persians to retrace their steps from Syria to their own country, reached Nisibis, and would certainly have besieged Ctesiphon had not Philippus treacherously slain him (A.D. 244) on the frontiers of Persia. When Philippus concluded peace with the Persians, the above-named Papas, or Paphas, is stated to have occupied the episcopal seat of Seleucia, to which he had been elected A.D. 247, and which he occupied till 326, *i.e.* during the extraordinary space of 79 years, embracing the reigns of eight kings, namely, Shápúr I., Hormuzd I., Behrám I., II., and III., Nersi, Hormuzd II., and Shápúr II., who instituted a great persecution of the Christians, which lasted forty of the seventy years of his reign (from 309 to 379).

Papas was a native of E'ráḳ, but according to others of Persia, and was well acquainted both with the Greek and Persian languages. After Constantine had become the Roman emperor and had made his profession of the Christian religion, he convoked in the twentieth year of his reign, *i. e.* A.D. 325, the Nicæan synod, [24] consisting of

[24] That the Christian religion must have attained considerable extension in Persia when this council was held appears from the circumstance of its decreeing the seat of Seleucia and Ctesiphon to be the first after the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem. *Arab canon* 33 of Franciscus Turrianus:—

و يكرم ايضا صاحب كرسي سليقيه اعني سلق الذي ببلاد المشرق
و هي المدائن و يكون هذا ايضا يسمي باسم الكاثوليقوس و يوذن له
الان ان يمطرن المطارنه كما يصنع البطارك لياك يقادي المشرقيون في
مضيهم الي بطريرك انطاكيه في حوائجهم اوفي انصرافهم من عنده
و يجدوا الوثنيين فيهم السبيل لاضرارهم لان بطريرك انطاكيه قدرضي
بذلك بعد ان طلبت اليه الجماعة لياك يغتم بما صرف عنه من سلطان
المشرق لانه انما التمس بهذا الامر سوا ادخال الراحه علي النصاري
ببلاد فارس

"Let also the incumbent of the seat of Seleucia in the East, namely, of Almadayn, be honoured in the same manner; his title is also to be that of Catholicus, and he is now permitted to ordain the Metropolitans, as Patriarchs do, lest the Orientals should, in their journey to the Patriarch of Antioch, or in their departure from him, suffer injury when they are consulting him in their affairs, and lest the polytheists should gain opportunities to hurt them; because the Patriarch of Antioch has consented thereto, after being requested

308 fathers; at that time Papas, being very old, sent to it his disciple Simeon Barsaboe, who became afterwards his successor, to represent him. In the life of St. Milles, bishop of Susa, he is, during his visit to the Aramæans, said to have found the church of Seleucia and Ctesiphon divided by the darkest schisms, and Papas a victim to intolerable pride and ambition, showing supreme contempt towards the priests who had assembled in an Oriental council, nine years after the above-mentioned one of Nicæa, to investigate his case; but according to the dates given before he ought at that time have been dead several years. He is said to have been convicted in this Oriental council of having perpetrated many crimes, the commission of which he was unable to deny; nevertheless he struck the book of the Gospels with his clenched hand and exclaimed, "Speak, Evangel, as words are failing me!" and for this impious act his hand became immediately withered.[25] A'mru takes quite a different view of this Catholicus, and calls him a saint; he says, "During the time of this father there were a number of doctors who attacked the followers of Simon, of Marcion, of Mani, and of others. When the king [Shápúr II.] saw that primates and bishops abstained from marriage, and that the Manichæans, who were of the sect of Mani [he was born about A.D. 240 in Persia], likewise did not marry, he ordered the Manichæans to be killed; but the mandate operated also on the Christians, wherefore St. Papas the patriarch suffered great hardships. Hereupon the Christians complained to the king, who wished to know the difference between the two. St. Papas replied that the Manichæans believed in two gods, in the earth having life, in the transmigration of souls from one body to another, and considered marriage to be a defilement; whereas Christians believe in one God and approve of marriage, but that the heads of the Church abstain therefrom in order to be more diligent in prayer, and not to be diverted by anything. The king approved of this reply and stopped the persecution."[26]

by the synod not to be dismayed by his loss of authority in the East; as in this matter the only object was to procure tranquillity for the Christians abiding in Persia."

[25] *Oriens Christianus*, tom. II., p. 1108.

[26] و كان في ايام هذا الاب عدد من المالفنة يقاومون اهل سيمون و مرقيون و ماني و غيرهم و الملك فلما شاهد الجثالقة و الاساقفة لا يتزوجون والمانوية على مذهب ماني لا يتزوجون ايضا امر بقتل المانويه و تعدى الامر الي النصاري و لحق مار فافا الفطريرك اذيه عظيمه و تظلم النصاري الي الملك و اوجب ان يعرف الفرق فاجاب

During the reign of Shápúr II., Manes, the founder of the Manichæan heresy, made his appearance in Persia and propagated his tenets. St. Euphanius and Photius state that Manes had (A.D. 261) been confuted in a disputation with and by Archelaus the bishop of Cascara, whilst other authors place his career in a somewhat lower period. He is said to have either been unable to cure the son of Shápúr II., or to have actually killed him by wrong medical treatment; wherefore he fled, but was at last captured and flayed alive, according to St. Epiphanius, and even according to Mirkhond. Theocritus[27] states that Manes wished to be considered the Paraclete, as also Mirkhond affirms, and had twelve apostles, according to the example of Christ; knowing also that the Syrian inhabitants of Mesopotamia acknowledged Addæus and Thomas to be their apostles, he sent men bearing these names to them to preach his doctrines. Manes promulgated tenets professed partly by Christians, by Zoroastrians, and by Buddhists, but is in the *Shahnamah* called a Chinese; there he is also said to have been vanquished in disputations by Mobeds, and lastly to have been flayed alive by order of the king; nothing, however, is said there about his unsuccessful cure of Shápúr's son, and only a short account is given of him.

Besides the long persecution of forty years, alluded to above, which began in the 31st year of the reign of Shápúr II., *i.e.* A.D. 340, there appears to have been also an earlier one, in the 18th year of his reign, *i.e.* A.D. 237, and another in the 30th, neither of which had, however, yet been sanctioned by royal proclamations. The sufferings of the martyrs who perished on those occasions were described by Isaias Adabi, a noble knight at the court of Shápúr II., in a work still existing in Syriac, in which he says: "In the 18th year of the reign of Shápúr this king of Persia excited a severe persecution against the Church of Christ. He demolished temples, set monasteries on fire, and oppressed the Christians with the heaviest burdens; he was, namely, endeavouring to turn them away from the

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صار فافا بان المانويه يعتقدون الاهيين والارض ذات حياة و الانفس تنتقل من جسم الي اخر و يرون التزويج نجس و النصاري يعترفون بالله واحد و يبرون التزويج و انما يمتنع الروسا سياسة ليوا غلبوا الصلوات ولا يكون لهم شي يشغلهم فاستحسن الملك الجواب و كف عنهم

(*Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt.. I., p. 220.)

[27] *Oriens Christianus*, tom. II., p. xxix.

religion of God, the creator of all." With reference to the year mentioned in this passage, Assemani observes [27a] that as Syriac, Greek, and Latin writers place the beginning of the first year of the persecution in the 31st year of Shápúr, there must have been two,—the one to be computed from the period when the Christian religion had not yet been proscribed by any royal edict, and the second after the issue thereof. He believes that the persecution under Shápúr first began at the instigation of the Magi, who omitted no occasion of attacking the Christian religion in the capital itself, where Isaias wrote, and that afterwards the conflagration was spread from it, by general edicts, all over the Persian dominions. This second and long persecution appears to have exceeded the first one in cruelty, inasmuch as Shápúr and his prefects often compelled Christians to slay their own co-religionists. In this manner Isaac the bishop and Uhanas the priest were stoned by the Seleucian Christians, who had been forced to commit the impious act; in this way Jacobus the presbyter and Maria, a holy virgin, were slain by Mahdad, and Barhadbeshaba the deacon by Aghæus. Oriental Christians so religiously abstained from eating blood that they considered any person doing so to have abandoned the faith.[28] In order to escape death, the persecutors required three things from Christians,—namely, to deny Christ, to worship the sun, fire, and water, and lastly to eat blood.

From the following account concerning the martyrs who suffered death during the long persecution, it would appear that it was not a continuous one, as only the names of those who perished during the first seven years of it are given in regular succession, and then a gap occurs till the 15th year, after which only those of three more years—namely, the 23rd, 26th, and 40th—are given;[29] accordingly the number of years in which martyrs were slain during the long persecution of forty is reduced to eleven years only; although if it be considered that more than 16,000 male and female martyrs were slain, besides innumerable multitudes of other Christians,[30] and that authors have written on the subject, it would not have been difficult to record victims during the omitted years, had there been any.

[27a] *Bibl. Or.*, I. 16-17.

[28] See *Lev.* iii. 17; vii. 26, 27; xvi. 14; xix. 26; *Deut.* xii. 16, 23; xv. 23, &c.

[29] *Bibl. Or.*, I. 185 *et seq.*

[30] Sozomenes, *Hist. Ecclesiast.*, lib. ii., cap. 14, *apud Ass. Bibl. Or.*, I. 1.

1st year.—Simeon Barsaboe, bishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon,[31] suffered death with the presbyters Abdechalas and Ananias during this year, which was the 31st of Shápúr.[32] It has already been mentioned that Simeon Barsaboe was the disciple and afterwards the successor of Papas, during whose lifetime he had been ordained and elected by the synod assembled at Seleucia in order to reduce him to order. Papas cursed him and insisted that his transgression should not be condoned; but the fathers who had come from the West, *i.e.* the Antiochian district, pardoned him. Simeon was afterwards accused of having converted some Magi, and of having baptized the mother of the king; wherefore Shápúr slew, at the instigation of the Jews, more than 600 laymen, deacons, and priests, among whom was also Simeon,[33] who being engaged in confirming Pusices Karogabar, the prefect of the king's artificers, in the faith, whilst under torture and vacillating, was immediately taken and slain, together with his virgin daughter. On the same day also Guhastazades, the foster-brother of the king, was slain, and the massacre lasted for ten days, during which multitudes of Christians were killed. During this year also Milles, the bishop of Susa, was thrown into prison in the town of Maheldagdar by Hormisdas Guphrizus, with Abrosimus the presbyter and Sinas the deacon, where all three, being first tortured, suffered martyrdom. Milles was stabbed to death by Guphrizus and Narses, the brother of the latter, whilst Abrosimus and Sinas were stoned.

2nd year.—On the anniversary of the massacre of the preceding year,—namely, the Jewish Sabbath eve, the 13th or 14th Nisan (1st April),—a cruel edict was published by which all Christians were condemned to death. On this occasion Shahdost ('friend of the king'), whom the Chaldæans more frequently call Jesudost ('friend of Jesus'), suffered martyrdom; he was the successor and nephew of Simeon, but had been elected and consecrated secretly. He was captured

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[31] Also in the *Shahnamah* Ctesiphon is mentioned as the residence of Shápúr, and always spelt Tyskún طيسقون

[32] *Oriens Christianus*, II. 1107.—Le Quien, Assemani, and A'mru all agree that this was in the 31st year of Shápúr, and as he began to reign A.D. 309 it must have been A.D. 340, but would according to their reckoning have been about four years later, as they give the Greek year 655 as their date, from which the year of our era is obtained by subtracting 311. Small differences of this kind are, however, of no great importance, considering the period under discussion, and will not be further alluded to.

[33] *Ibid.*

with 128 companions and despatched to Shápúr, who kept him for five months in a squalid prison, where he became extremely emaciated, but was after that taken to the town of Lapethum (Beth Lapet) and beheaded. Barsebias the Archimandrite was made prisoner with ten of his companions who were monks, and killed by the sword, after his legs had first been broken. With these men also one of the Magi, who had become an adherent of Barsebias, was slain.

3rd year.—No others besides Daniel the presbyter and the virgin Varda are mentioned. They were beheaded, after having been tortured in various ways.

4th year.—Not less than three bishops and other persons of high standing became martyrs during this year. These three bishops were presiding over churches whose names are not given; all are, however, said to have been in the province of Seleucia, and not in the capital, which was the seat of the Catholicus. Joannes, the first of them, was slain in the village of Hasin, by order of Ardashir, a cousin of Shápúr and governor of Adiabene, who caused also the second, namely, bishop Shápúr, to be beaten in prison until he died, and his head to be cut off and brought, in order to be certain that he had perished. The third, Isaac, was stoned in the town of Nicator by the false Christians of the same place, whom Ardashir had compelled to this act. Ardashir ordered also another Isaac, presbyter of the village of Hulsar, to be stoned in the same manner; Papa, the presbyter of Helmin, to be killed in Galal; and Uhanas, a young cleric, to be stoned by Seleucian Christian women, whom he commanded to do so; and his own eunuch was slain in Seleucia by the wicked apostate Vantaranes, who had been presbyter of the village of Salucana. It is pretty clear that Sozomenes [34] means this eunuch whom Maruthas calls Guhastazades,[35] and only truncates the first part of his name when he says, "Further, when all the Christians were slain most unmercifully, many suffered death in the palace itself; and among these was Azades, the eunuch most beloved by the king, whom when Shápúr saw killed he was struck with incredible grief."

Among the women who suffered martyrdom was Bauta, one of the noblest ladies of Seleucia, whom the prefect Adargusnasaph caused to be dashed against her own house. By order of the same officer also the Seleucian virgins Tela and Dana were executed, whilst he had others

[34] Lib. ii., cap. 11.

[35] *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, I. 189.

such as Taton, Mama, Mazachia, and Ana, carried beyond the limits of the city to a place called Hevara and slain there; but the virgins Abiat, Hati, and Mamlachu, from the Garamæan country, suffered martyrdom by order of king Shápúr II.

5th year.—In Seleucia 120 martyrs were killed by the sword on the 6th Nisan in the 35th year of Shápúr. Among these there were nine virgins, the others being presbyters, deacons, and clerics of various orders. All these persons had, whilst in prison, been fed during six months at the expense of Yazdandukht ('daughter of God'), the most noble lady in Adiabene, and when they were executed she got them buried, five at a time. When, passing over all others, only priests and teachers of the Christian religion had begun to be captured by order of Shápúr, the Magi and their agents travelled all over the Persian dominions, carefully ferreting out bishops and presbyters, whom they harassed, but chiefly in the districts of Adiabene, which were mostly inhabited by Christians.

6th year.—Barbashemin or Barbasimes[36] was after Sháhdost the Catholicus of Seleucia and Ctesiphon. Being taken with sixteen others and deported to Ledan, all of them were beheaded. He is said by A'mru to have governed the church during seven years, but the bishopric remained vacant after him for twenty years, till the death of Shápúr, on account of the persecution ordered by an edict, a portion of which is here given from Maruthas[37]:—"Let every one who loves me and desires my reign understand that he is to take measures that there should be no Christian known by name within his boundaries, or dwelling in his district, without adoring the sun, worshipping fire and water, and eating the blood of animals. Let every one who refuses to do these things be surrendered to the magistrates, be tortured by their orders and perish." Since in this as in the preceding year, in spite of this severe edict levelled at all Christians, priests appear to have been the men whose persecution was chiefly aimed at, it is not surprising that Barbashemin assiduously warned the monks and bishops to change their garments for those used by the laity, which was done. In spite of this persecution several monasteries were built, and during the lifetime of Barbashemin, Kardágh, the small king of Beth-Garma, was converted to Christianity, but lost his life during

[36] Meaning in Syriac 'one with four names,' analogous to the Arabic باربع اسم

[37] *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, I. 191.

the 49th year of Shápúr's reign. Martyrs are said to have been very numerous during this year, but their names are not given.

7th year.—Jacobus, the presbyter of the village of Tela-Shalila, perished during this year, with his virgin sister Maria, by order of Narses Tamsapor, who compelled a noble Christian, Mahdad, to slay them, because they refused to eat blood and to deny Christ. The impious apostate Paul, who had formerly been a presbyter, slew during this year Tecla with four other virgins, by order of the same Narses.

15th year.—Bardeshaba, deacon of the town of Arbel, was beheaded at the command of Shápúr-Tamsapor the prefect, who compelled Aghæus, one of the most noble Christians of the place, to perform the act.

23rd year.—About nine thousand men and women were captured after taking the Roman fort Bezabde, on the Tigris, called by them Zebedæum or Zabdæum. Among the prisoners was Heliodorus, the bishop of the place,[38] with Dausas and Mariab, presbyters, and Hebedyesu ('servant of Jesus,' عبد يسوع) the deacon. Heliodorus, being very sick in a place called Stacarta, ordained Dausas to succeed him as bishop, and died. When the multitude of captives was distributed throughout various towns of Persia, Dausas, Mariab, and Hebedyesu were, with two hundred and ninety-seven men and women, carried to Mount Masebdan, near the village of Gapheta, where the prefect, Adarphar, inflicted exquisite tortures on them, and beheaded them all except twenty-five men and women, who escaped death by worshipping the sun.

36th year.—The principal persons who suffered martyrdom during this year were forty in number, namely, two bishops, sixteen presbyters, nine deacons, six monks, and seven virgins, whose names are given. In this year also Bademus the Archimandrite was taken with seven monks and disciples from the monastery which he had built near Lapetha (Beth Lapet) and brought to Shápúr, at whose command he was slain, because he refused to abjure Christianity, by Narses the proprietor of Arium, in the district of Garmæa (Betgerme),—who had, from fear of being deprived of his possessions, apostatized from the Christian religion. The monks were, however, liberated after the demise of Shápúr, after having been tormented during four years in a squalid prison.

[38] This is, no doubt, the bishop alluded to by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, —bk. xx., ch. vii.

40th year.—This is the last year of the persecution and of the reign of Shápúr. The names of priests who suffered martyrdom are given, and the chief of these appears to have been the bishop Acepsimas; none, however, of the laity are mentioned as having perished for the faith.

It may be observed that the whole persecution just noticed was chiefly confined to the provinces of Persia for the possession of which Shápúr contended during a portion of his long reign, namely, to the districts from Edessa down to Ctesiphon, embracing a part of Armenia and the whole of Mesopotamia, so that the Christian martyrs were considered to favour the views of their Roman co-religionists, and to be disloyal to the Persian government; accordingly they were liable to be persecuted also on that score, which would considerably modify, if not altogether invalidate, the assumption that the persecution was exclusively of a religious character. On the other hand, it is also to be taken into account that although the Persian Christians must have had many friends among their Roman co-religionists, especially as the bonds of affectionate fellowship among Christians were in those days, when they really existed, much closer and warmer than in our times, the Roman government itself was of an eminently pagan character, in spite of the protection Constantine the Great, the first Christian emperor, who died A.D. 337, had extended to the Christians, and whose son Constantine gave way to cruelty and oppression; nor can there be any doubt about the cousin of the latter, Julian, who, on succeeding him (A.D. 361), immediately disclosed his religious sentiments, publicly disavowed the doctrines of Christianity, and offered solemn sacrifices to all the gods of ancient Rome. Jovian, the next emperor, indeed, liked Christianity, but died A.D. 364, after a reign of less than eight months. Valens was superstitious and cruel, and was burnt alive, A.D. 378. Theodosius the Great became emperor A.D. 379. These were the contemporaries of Shápúr, and it is an admitted fact that during the fourth century the Christian Church was alternately persecuted and cherished by the Roman emperors. Its oppressors were Diocletian, Galerius, and Julian; whilst Constantine, Valentinian, Valens, Gratian, and Theodosius favoured it; paganism was, however, totally extinguished throughout the Roman dominions during the reign of the last-mentioned emperor.[39]

[39] During the reign of Theodosius, Armenia was divided between the Romans and Persians under Shápúr III. into two parts, the share of the latter being at least two-thirds of it, and the most fertile. Arsaces, the king of

During the reign of Shápúr II., Mesopotamia was full of towns, and the country in a high state of cultivation, promoted by numerous artificial canals, which not only irrigated and fertilized the land, but were navigable, and served as means of communication down to the fall of the Sasanian dynasty in the seventh century, when the Arab flotilla of Kháled, proceeding by water to Hirah, stuck, all of a sudden, fast and dry, because the sluices of all the canals of irrigation issuing from the arm of the Bádakala had been opened to let the water out. This scheme of irrigating Mesopotamia, one of the most extensive the world has ever seen, is now so neglected, that unless something is done to guide the Enphrates, which at present discharges a great quan-

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Armenia, continued to reign in the western part, which had fallen to the lot of the Romans, but as their vassal; and the majority of Christian princes who had possessions in the eastern part of Armenia abandoned their estates and followed their sovereign. When Shápúr III. took cognizance of this emigration, he refrained from incorporating eastern Armenia into the empire, but bestowed it on Khosru, an Arsacide prince who was a Christian, and gave him his own sister Zervándukht in marriage. As soon as the princes heard this news, they returned to their sovereignties, carried off the treasures of Arsaces and brought them to Khosru; the latter was, however, soon removed from the government, because he had entered into an alliance with the emperor and acknowledged himself a tributary of the Romans, and his brother Vrham-Shabuh (in Persian, Behram Shápúr) substituted in his place. This king, taking warning from the fate of his brother, never swerved from his allegiance to Persia, and reigned quietly in Armenia 21 years. During his reign the learned Mesrob composed the Armenian alphabet, and had a complete translation of the Bible made from the Septuagint version. Up to this time the Armenians had only Greek and Syriac Bibles, which could not be read by the Christians of the country. Mesrob founded a school, which became celebrated in Armenia by the authors it produced. He sent many young men distinguished by birth and learning to Edessa, to Alexandria, to Antioch, to Constantinople, to Athens, and even to Rome, in order to study the language, philosophy, and literature of the Greeks. The most distinguished among them were Moses of Chorene, surnamed, on account of the elegance of his style, *K'hertogh*, *i.e.* 'the grammarian;' Mambreh Verzanogh, his brother; Goriún, Elisæus, David the philosopher, Arzan, of the race of Arzanians, and many others. Afterwards, however, Shápúr III. himself governed Armenia, and made himself odious to the people by his tyrannical character. He greatly tormented his subjects and princes in order to force them to embrace the religion of Zoroaster. Four years afterwards he returned to Persia in order to succeed his father, who had died, but soon perished from the treachery of his foes, so that his brother Behram IV. became master of the situation and obtained the throne. After that, the patriarch Sahag II. governed the country for a brief period in connection with his nephew the general Vartan, but went to the court of Behram V., who gave them Ardashes IV. (Pers. 'Ardashir'), the son of Vrham-Shabuh, for their king; he was, however, dethroned (A.D. 428) by the same sovereign, and the kingdom of the Arsacides was destroyed; and from the just-mentioned year till A. D. 632, when the emperor of Constantinople sent a governor to take charge of the country, Armenia was governed by Marzbans, whom the sovereigns of Persia nominated.

tity of its surplus waters into the Tigris about three miles below Bagh'dad, into its old channel, that country will, in the course of a few years more, become one vast marsh. When, during the reign of Shápúr, the Roman emperor Julian, disappointed in his intended siege of Ctesiphon, had proceeded further into the interior of Persia, the people had set their own harvests and pastures on fire, with the object of impeding his progress; he died, however, shortly afterwards from a wound, and Jovian was tumultuously acclaimed emperor by the army. On that occasion the Roman army suffered during four days, whilst negotiations were going on with the Persians, the acutest pangs of hunger, instead of at once retreating to Corduene, which was very fertile, belonged to the Romans, and was not more distant than a hundred miles This they ought to have done, according to the opinion of Ammianus Marcellinus,[40] who was an eye-witness of the campaign; the Romans delayed, however, and Shápúr II. was obstinate in demanding the restoration of all the provinces he said had been taken away from him by Maximianus, but in reality he demanded from the Romans the five provinces which are on the other side of the Tigris, namely, Arzane (part of the province of Erzerúm, ارض روم), Moxoene (Mush, in the same), Zabdicene (Jezyrah, in the Diarbekr,—the fort Bezabde, *i.e.* Zabdæum, situated in it, has already been mentioned above), Rehimene, and Corduene; moreover, fifteen forts, with Nisibis (نصیبین) and Singar (سنجار). It would perhaps have been better to fight than to yield to these propositions, but the crowd of flatterers which surrounded the timid emperor gave him to understand that there was reason to fear Procopius, and assured him that the just-mentioned general would, on hearing the news of Julian's death, not fail to raise troubles by means of the soldiers under his orders, who, having suffered no hardships, were not exhausted. Jovian, having thus been gained over by repeated insinuations, immediately granted all that was demanded, and obtained with difficulty that Nisibis and Singara should be surrendered to the Persians without their inhabitants.[41]

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[40] Bk. xxv., ch. vii.

[41] According to the *Shahnamah*, III. ۱۰۲ the people of Nisibis were unwilling to surrender the city to Shápúr II., and offered resistance :—

چو اندر نصیبین خبر یا فتند — همه جنگ را تیز بشتا فتند
که مارا نیاید که شاپور شاه — نصیبین بگیرد و بیارد سپاه
که دین مسیحا ندارد درست — ره گبرکی ورزد وژند واست

It has already been observed, under the sixth year of the persecution, that when the bishop Barbashemin was decapitated the episcopal seat of Seleucia remained vacant till the death of Shápúr, namely, twenty years, when Tamuza was elected, but he died after governing the church eight years. Abdjesus I. is omitted by Barhebræus, nor can it be known how long he presided over the seat, which is said to have remained two years vacant after his demise; his successor, Cajumas, who is considered to have been the 14th Catholicus of Seleucia, was present at the council of Constantinople during the reign of Theodosius the Great, A.D. 381, but appears at that time not to have been bishop of Seleucia, as he must only have been elected 21 years afterwards, since he is said to have resigned in the fifth year after his election, *i.e.* A.D. 407,[42] in a synod of Oriental bishops at that time convoked by Maruthas, the bishop of Martyropolis (میا فارقین Myáfárekyn), who had chiefly been instrumental in a treaty of peace concluded between the emperor Arcadius and Yazdegird II.;[42a] he is also said to have been a skilful physician, and to have cured the daughter of this king, with whom he so ingratiated himself that he obtained permission to build several churches; so that when Cajumas resigned he probably yielded to superior authority, and made way in the above-mentioned council for Isaac, who ruled the church during eleven years, and died in the 18th year of Yazdegird II., *i.e.* A.D. 417. The chief act on record about Isaac is that he, in connection with St. Acacius, the bishop of Amida, ransomed Persian prisoners from the Romans,[43] but the precise year in which this event happened cannot be made out satisfactorily. When the Romans had, in their devastation of Azanena, captured about seven thousand Persians, whom they were by no means inclined to release, and who were starving, Acacius convoked his priests and

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This resistance so incensed the king that he sent troops, who made great slaughter:—

چو آگهی آمد شا پور شاه — که اندر نصیبین نداد ند راه
ز دین مسیحا بر آشفت شاه — سپاهی فرستاد هم براه
همیگفت پیغمبری کش جهود — کشد دین اورا نشاید ستود
بیک هفتم انجا همی جنگ بود — درشهر بر جنگیان تنگ بود
بکشتند ازایشان فراوان اسران — نها دند بر زنده بند گران

[42] *Or. Chr.*, tom. II., p. 1110.

[42a] This sovereign is numbered according to Dr. Mordtmann's *Chronology of the Sasanians*, as well as all the others.

[43] *Or. Chr.*, II. 1111.

said to them,—"Our God stands in need neither of platters nor bowls, as he neither eats nor drinks, and wants nothing. But as the church possesses many gold and silver vessels, presented by the benevolence and liberality of those who have entered it, we must with their price ransom the captives and feed them." After having said more to the same purport, he had the sacred vessels melted, ransomed the captives gradually by paying their price to the Roman soldiers, fed them for some time, and lastly, providing them with travelling expenses, sent them to the king of Persia, who was so much struck by this act of Acacius that he desired the bishop to pay him a visit, which is said to have taken place by the permission of Theodosius, who allowed him to leave the the synod which was at that time sitting in Constantinople. Socrates[43a] refers this event to A.D. 422, at which date, however, Isaac, the fellow-labourer of Acacius, had been dead several years.

Maruthas, the above-mentioned bishop of Martyropolis (or, according to others, of the whole of Mesopotamia), who had also been present at the synods which were about this time being held in Constantinople, was on two occasions sent by Theodosius as ambassador to Yazdegird II., whose esteem he won by his great piety; this, however, gave offence to the Magi, who, being afraid that he might persuade the king, whom he is said to have also relieved of an apparently incurable headache, to embrace the Christian religion, concealed a man underground in the fire-temple the king was in the habit of visiting, so that when engaged in worship he heard the words, "The king is to be expelled, as he impiously believes that a priest of the Christian religion can be dear to God." After hearing these words, Yazdegird was half inclined to dismiss Maruthas; the latter, however, suggested that the place should be examined, which being done at the next visit of the king, when words purporting to issue from the fire were again heard, the fraud was discovered, and not only the speaker, but many other Magi also were slain.[44] On this occasion the king gave Maruthas the permission already mentioned to build churches wherever he liked, so that henceforth the Christian religion again spread among the Persians more and more. When Maruthas was for the second time sent as ambassador, the Magi again played a trick to prevent his being admitted into the presence of the king; they produced a horrible

43a Bk. vii., ch. 21,—*Bibl. Or. Ass.*, I. 195 *et seq.*

44 Socrates, bk. vii., ch. 8.—*Bibl. Or. Ass.*, I. 176.

stench in a locality through which he was wont to pass, and said that the Christians had done it. When Yazdegird discovered that this odour was a stratagem of the Magi, he had many of them slain, and honoured Maruthas the more. He also took a liking to the Romans, whose friendship he cultivated, and was almost ready to become a Christian when Maruthas, in concert with Abdas the Persian bishop, prepared by fastings and orisons, worked the miracle of exorcising a demon who had vexed the king's son; but Yazdegird was overtaken by death before he had become a perfect Christian.[45] From what has just been said according to Socrates, it would appear that the Christians of Persia had no reason to complain of enmity towards them, at least as far as Yazdegird II. himself was concerned; and the same author[46] expressly states that he "undertook no war against the Romans, nor troubled them in any way," whilst Dionysius the Jacobite patriarch attributes the persecutions which took place under Yazdegird II. to his son Behram V. about A.D. 423, but several other authors—Theodoretus, Theophanes, and Pagius—mention a persecution of Christians by Yazdegird. Cyrillus, in his biography of St. Euthymius the abbot,[47] writes:—"In the beginning of the persecution which took place towards the end of the reign of Yazdegird the Persian king, when the Magi were desirous of capturing all the Christians, they everywhere stationed prefects of the Arabs subject to them, lest any Christians living in Persia should flee to the Romans." Assemani[48] reconciles these contradictory statements by concluding that a persecution was indeed undertaken by Yazdegird II. against the Christians, because Abdas, the bishop of Suza, being carried away by too much zeal, had imprudently burnt a fire-temple,[49] but that it soon abated. The persecu-

[45] Bk. vii., ch. 8.

[46] Bk. vii., ch. 18.

[47] *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, I. 182.

[48] *Ibid.*, I. 183.

[49] Le Quien (*Or. Chr.*, II. 1190) also bears witness to this fact, which according to him took place A.D. 421, and states that Abdas had, before demolishing the pyræum, first extinguished the sacred fire, wherefore he was slain by order of the king. This is confirmed also by the Nestorian A'mru, who, however, would move the event down to a later period, as his statement is that after the death of Jaballaha, which took place A.D. 428, Yazdegird set on foot against the Christians a persecution in which St. Abdas, the bishop of the Huzites, was crowned a martyr, because a certain priest named Hosee had in the town of the Huzites هوزاى demolished a fire-temple contiguous to a Christian church, and that the persecution had been quelled by Isaac the

tion was, however, soon revived by Behram V. on his succession to the throne, especially after he had undertaken an expedition against the Romans and fought with them. Such persecutions were always more atrocious when the Persians were at feud with the Romans, and the one now alluded to terminated when peace was concluded, A.D. 427.

It has already been mentioned above that a partition of Armenia had taken place between the Romans—or more strictly the Byzantine Greeks—and the Persians, in which the latter obtained the larger and more fertile share, governing it through Marzbans, often selected from among the Armenians themselves. Under the dominion of Persia, Armenia continued to be ravaged by sanguinary wars, and to be a prey to nearly the same calamities which it had already encountered under its own kings. Powerful families professing the Christian religion, irritated by the intolerance of the Persian kings or their governors, and goaded by the political intrigues of the emperors of Constantinople, often revolted in order to expel the foreigners from their country; their efforts were, however, not seldom paralyzed by those of their own fellow-countrymen who followed the religion of Zoroaster, or who were from interested motives attached to the kings of Persia; and, to crown their misfortunes, they were usually abandoned by the Greeks, who had flattered them with hopes of breaking their fetters. Accordingly also the majority of Armenian princes who revolted against the Persians obtained but little success, and perished miserably, although most of them possessed military talents and much bravery.

After the Persians had taken possession of Armenia, it enjoyed—a few religious dissensions excepted—a great deal of peace under the government of the Marzban Veh-Mihr-Shápúr, of the Sbarabied (ՍԱՐԱՊԵՏ) Vartan, the general of the troops, and the administrator Vahan Amadúni, who bore the title Hazarbied (chiliarch). But this interval of tranquillity was of short duration, because when Yazdegird

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duke of Armenia, who subjected the Huzites to Yazdegird. G. Rawlinson, in his *Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 275, states that this monarch greatly favoured Christians, and commenced a persecution of the Magians, but that the excessive zeal of Abdas provoked a reaction after a while. "Abdas had ventured to burn down the great Fire-Temple of Ctesiphon, and had refused to rebuild it. Yazdegird authorized the Magian hierarchy to retaliate by a general destruction of the Christian Churches throughout the Persian dominions, and by the arrest and punishment of all those who acknowledged themselves to believe in the Gospel."

II. ascended the throne he desired to force the Armenians and all the nations inhabiting Mount Caucasus to abandon the Christian religion and to embrace Zoroastrianism.[50] Mihr Nerseh, the Persian general, was (A.D. 442) sent to Armenia, in order to put into execution the wish of the king. He arrived with many soldiers as well as priests, and was immediately joined by Varazvaghan, the son-in-law of Vasag, and prince of the Siunians, who abjured the Christian religion and promised to second him in his projects. Fearing to use compulsion, Mihr Nerseh summoned to his presence the Armenian, Iberian, and Albanian princes under the pretext of waging war against the Huns; he treated them with the greatest honours, overwhelmed them with presents, and succeeded in decoying them away from their country. On that occasion Vasag, the prince of the Siunians, was appointed Marzban of Armenia, and Vartan confirmed in the dignity of Sbarabied. The Armenian princes fought during more than two years against the Huns beyond the gates of Derbend, and rendered great services to the king of Persia, but could by no means be induced to abandon the Christian religion. Mihr Nerseh, annoyed by this obstinacy, at last loudly proclaimed the orders he had received from the king, and neither gifts nor promises were spared to gain over the princes, nor threats to frighten them into submission. Not content with all his stratagems, he had Adún, prince of the Kenúnians, and Manajihr, the prince of the Reshdunians, arrested and conveyed to Persia, where they lost their lives. Tenshabuh (تنشابور), the Persian general, published at the head of his army the orders of the king in all the districts of Armenia; and Mihr Nerseh addressed to all the princes and bishops an exposition of the religious doctrine of Persia,—already inserted before in footnote 23—to induce them to obey his sovereign. Hereupon the patriarch Joseph I. assembled (A.D. 450) the most prominent men of the country at Ardashad, to deliberate on the reply to be made to the lieutenant of the king. All the Armenians unanimously replied that they would not abandon the Christian faith, and professed their readiness to suffer martyrdom for it. Yazdegird, irritated by this resistance, summoned the majority of the Armenian princes to his court, and caused the Marzban Vasag, the Sbarabied Vartan, Vazten the Iberian prince, as well as many others, to be put in irons, and threatened them with the most cruel death if they refused to abandon their religion. Being reduced to the last extremity, these princes, in

[50] Elisæus, ch. i.

order to save their lives, consented to all that was demanded of them, and lastly completed their abjuration in the presence of the king by submitting to all the ceremonies prescribed by the religion of Zoroaster.[51]

Satisfied with their submission, Yazdegird sent them back to Armenia with numerous Persian troops and plenty of Magi, to destroy the Christian churches and to propagate ignolatry in the country. On learning their approach, Shvasp Arzruni, the prince of Vent, with his son Sheroi and several other princes who were secretly inclined to embrace the religion of the Persians, hastened to deny Jesus Christ in the town of Tovin, and manifested their zeal by the most cruel devastations.[52] At this sad news the whole Armenian nation ran to arms, and the patriarch with all the bishops prepared for martyrdom. Armenia seemed threatened with the last extremity, when general Vartan, ashamed of his weakness, fled from the camp of the Persians, and went to meet the patriarch Joseph. Bitterly deploring his culpable apostasy, he threw himself at the feet of the prelate to obtain his pardon, and swore to him, as well as to those who had participated in his weakness, to conquer or to die for the religion of their fathers. In haste to fulfil his vow, Vartan collected all his forces, appealed to the Armenian princes, and was soon at the head of an army of 100,000 warriors, with whom he marched against the strangers and apostates, put them to flight, burnt the temples they had erected, and destroyed by torture those who had escaped the sword.[53] Whilst Vartan was thus avenging his country and blotting out by his triumphs one moment of error in the sight of his countrymen, the princes of the Aghovans or Albanians were likewise tormented by the orders of the king of Persia. Informed of Vartan's victory, they sent ambassadors to the Armenians in order to ask aid from them against the Persians, who had inundated their country with troops, and who desired entirely to destroy the Christian religion in it. Before marching to defend the Albanians, Vartan and the princes his allies resolved to ask support from the emperor Theodosius II., in order more successfully to resist the king of Persia, who was preparing to avenge the reverses he had experienced. About this time (A.D. 450) Theodosius died, and his successor, Marcian, being too much engaged

[51] Elisæus, ch. i.-ii.

[52] *Ibid.*, ch. iii.

[53] *Ibid.*

in his religious disputes with the followers of the heretic Eutyches, who were at that time tearing the empire to pieces, never thought of aiding the Armenians in the unequal struggle they had to sustain against the Persians.[54]

The Armenians, being thus limited to their own efforts, resolved to perish rather than that the least injury should be inflicted on their religion. They fought valiantly, and whilst Vartan was covering himself with glory, the Marzban Vasag, who had for a long time been secretly in the interest of Yazdegird, profited by the absence of Vartan to throw off the mask and to abjure Christianity. Dirots the prince of the Pagratides, Katishvi the prince of the Khorkhorhunians, as well as many others, followed his example, and warmly embraced the interests of the king of Persia. They united their forces, opened the entrance of Armenia to strangers, ravaged the country, almost totally destroyed the town of Ardashad, and devastated the province of Ararat by fire and sword. Vartan, incensed at this treachery and at these devastations, ravaged in his turn all the possessions of Vasag and of his adherents. In the spring of A.D. 451 Meshgan Ninsalavard, general of the troops of Yazdegird, entered Armenia at the head of a powerful army, whilst Vartan and the other princes who had remained faithful to their oath ran to arms, and marched to encounter the Persians and the perfidious Vasag. They displayed very great courage, but all in vain; pressed as they were by numerous adversaries, they were completely routed on the banks of the river Deghmod, in the province of Ardaz, on the frontiers of Aderbaiján, and Vartan with the majority of the princes was slain in the hand-to-hand fight. After this important victory Armenia was completely subjugated; but a few Armenians preferred the miseries of exile to slavery, and took refuge in the Greek empire, in the Kurdish mountains, and in the passes of the Caucasus, whilst the patriarch Joseph, the chief bishops, with many priests, were taken captive to Persia, and obtained the crown of martyrdom.

It has already been seen above how honourably Yazdegird treated Maruthas (who died A.D. 411), and how the latter had, as a physician, enjoyed the honour of treating members of the royal family. Achæus,[55] the disciple of the above-mentioned Abdas, and successor

[54] Elisæus, ch. iii.

[55] This prelate is said to have been so abstemious that he subsisted exclusively on vegetables and bread, to which he occasionally added something cooked.

of Isaac in the bishopric, appears, according to A'mru, to have enjoyed the favour of Yazdegird like Maruthas, because he was employed by the king also on a mission to Bihor, a son of Shápúr, who had rebelled against him, and says A'mru, "When this father arrived in Persia and transacted the business for which he had been sent, he examined the sepulchres of the martyrs who had attained martyrdom during the reign of Shápúr, as well as the cause for which each of them suffered death, and wrote their history. Then he returned to Yazdegird, whom he informed of all that had happened, and was very honourably received by him. He exercised his authority in the government of his flock by ordering the fathers to anathematize every house in which they might find any of the sciences of witchcraft and instruments of Magism, because some Marcionites and Manichæans had entered among the people in disguise. He composed a book on the acts of the martyrs slain in the East, which was confirmed by Daniel the son of Mary in his ecclesiastical history. He also wrote the history of St. Abdas, his teacher."[56]

Yaballaha (يهب الله), the successor of Achæus, and likewise a disciple of Abdas, being noted for his monastic habits, piety, and studiousness, as well as for the purity of his life, was elected Catholicus with the consent of all, and the approbation of the king, who is at that time said to have become more relenting towards Christians, especially at the instance of Isaac, a patrician of Armenia, through whom that country had become subject to Persia. Yaballaha, who had cured the king of a malady, and thereby caused him to become more gentle towards his Christian subjects,[57] died A.D. 419, but Yazdegird II.

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[56] ولما وصل هذا الاب الى فارس و اصلح الامور التي توجّه لاجلها سال عن قبور الشهدا الذين قبلو الشهادة في ايام سابور و باى سبب قتل كل واحد منهم وكتب قصصهم وعاد الى يزد جرد فعرّفه ما وقف عليه و تاتّى له و حظى عنده بجاه عظيم و بسط يده في تدبير رعيته وامر الابا ان يحرموا كل بيت يجدون فيه شيًا من علوم السحر والات المجوسية لان قوم من المرقيونيه والمانيه كان قد تنكروا ودخلوا بين الناس وعمل كتابا اثبت فيه اخبار الشهد الذين استشهدو بالمشرق و قد اثبتها ايضا دانيال ابن مريم في تاريخه الا قلاسيسطيقي وعمل تشعيت مار عبد رابه

[57] *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. i., p. 372.

himself expired the next year, after a reign of twenty years.[58] According to Nestorian authors, Mahna or Máanes, the metropolitan of Fárs, a Persian by birth, and on that account approved by Yazdegird, was appointed after the demise of Yaballaha. A'mru says concerning him, "He was learned in Syriac and Persian, and was the metropolitan of [the province of] Fárs. As he had much influence with Yazdegird, he selected him, and compelled the fathers to make him patriarch. After that, however, he became angry with him, and ordered his [official] garments to be burnt, exiling him to Fárs. Then he sent for the metropolitans and bishops, from whom he exacted the promise that Ma'na should no longer be called a patriarch, either openly or secretly. When he had departed to Fárs, information was brought to Yazdegird of his governing a flock there; accordingly he ordered

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[58] It has already been observed above that A'mru places the demolition of the pyræum, and the persecution ensuing after it, later than the death of Yaballaha. His words are as follows:—

وتغيرت نية يزدجرد في النصارى فهدم البيع * فعاد الصداع عليه * و استدعى يبلّها فصلّا عليه فبرى و عوفى و عاد الى احسن عنايته و امر بنا البيع ولعلم يبلّها بما سوف يجرى على النصارى وسال قبضه و استناح و دفن بالمدايين * وكانت مدته سبع عشر سنه وبعد موته عاد يزدجرد هدم البيع وقتل النصارى وفعل معهم امرًا عظيمًا * وكان في جملة المقتلين مار عبدا اسقف الاهواز * لان قسًّا من اصحابه تعرّض بيت نار كان يجاوز البيعة كان النصارى يتادّى به * وكان هذا مما ايقظ يزدجرد ففعل ما فعله * و بشفاعة اسحق بطريق ارمنيه كفّ وهو جعل الارمن في طاعة يزدجرد *

"And the disposition of Yazdegird changed towards the Christians, so that he demolished churches, and his headache returned; accordingly he called Yaballaha, who prayed over him till he recovered, again favoured Christians, and ordered churches to be built; but as Yaballaha knew what would soon befall the Christians, he prayed to be relieved of life, died, and was buried in Madayn; his time [of presiding over the Church] was seventeen years. After his death Yazdegird again destroyed churches, slew Christians, and persecuted them severely. Among the number of the slain was also St. Abdas, the bishop of Ahváz, because one of his fellow-priests had caused a pyræum adjoining a church of the Christians, and displeasing to them, to be destroyed. This incensed Yazdegird to do what he did, but he desisted [from the persecution] at the intercession of Isaac, the patrician of Armenia through whom that country had become subject to Yazdegird."

him to be imprisoned. Then he was examined concerning this affair and released; he died in Fárs."[59]

This Máanes, who is by some said to have associated in the school of Edessa with Rabulas, Acacius, Barsumas, &c., all of whom favoured the doctrines of Nestorius, was, during the same year in which the fathers had elected him (*i.e.* A.D. 420), by the command of Yazdegird, also deposed by them as a usurper, after having incurred his displeasure; and Marabokht, whom A'mru calls Karábakht, the successor of Máanes, *i. e.* Ma'na, underwent the same fate, after presiding but a few months over the Church, although he had, by presenting a sum of gold to Behram V., the son of Yazdegird II., induced him to compel the bishops to elect him; these, however, soon removed him again, by the aid of some Persian magnates, whereupon Dadjesus was, according to A'mru, ordained bishop, governed the Church during thirty-five years, and died A.D. 465. In the early portion of his patriarchate he appears to have been imprisoned for a while, by order of the king, but liberated at the instance of Theodosius.[60]

About this period of time, Nestorianism, the promulgator of which had been removed from the patriarchate of Constantinople, and excommunicated afterwards by the council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, began to spread in Persia and to be sanctioned by various synods; being persecuted in Constantinople it was patronized in Persia, even by the

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[59] هذا كان عالما بالسريانيه و الفارسيه و كان مطران فارس وله تقدم عند يزدجرد فاختار والزم الابا بتصييره فطركاً ثم من بعد ذلك سخط عليه وامر بتخريق ثيابه ونفيه الى فارس وارسل احضر المطارنه والاساقفه واخذ عليهم العهد ان لا يدعي معنا فطركا لا ظاهرا ولا باطنا * ولما مضى الى فارس وصل الى يزدجرد انه يدبّر الرعية هناك فامر بحبسه ثم سالوه في امره فاطلقه ومات بفارس

[60] That Dadjesus must have enjoyed the favour of Behram V., and was greatly esteemed by him, because he had, by his prudent arrangements, preserved the frontiers of Tus and of Khorásán from invasions of enemies, and hindered them from entering the province of Fárs, appears plainly from the words of A'mru, *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. i., p. 214:—

لانه كان قد حفظ بحسن تدبيره حدود البلاد في طوس وخراسان من تطرف الاعدا ودخولهم ارض فارس

It was not unusual in those times to entrust Christian prelates also with the civil government of provinces, and Barsumas appears likewise to have given satisfaction in this respect.

sovereigns of that country, where the teachers of its doctrines took refuge and were welcomed when the emperor Zeno dissolved the school of Edessa, which was steeped in them. The chief propagator of Nestorianism in the Persian dominions was Barsumas, who established a new school in lieu of the just-mentioned one at Nisibis, where he afterwards became bishop. He was, on account of his erudition, eloquence, and political capacities, not only one of the chief courtiers of Firuz as well as of Kobád, but also entrusted by them with the civil government of Nisibis and the adjoining districts along the boundaries of the Roman empire. Authors inimical to Nestorianism not only consider it very sinful that Barsumas was a married man, who allowed bishops and priests to contract marriages, but they accuse him even of polygamy, It is quite natural that Barsumas may have been extremely zealous in the propagation of the tenets of his sect, but it is narrated that, as he was very influential with Firuz, innumerable Christians professing tenets contrary to his own suffered death at his instigation; it cannot be said that Firuz persecuted the Jacobites on this account, but that he did so is asserted by A'mru, who says, "Firuz sought out the Jacobites and killed them. He slew great numbers of them in Takryt, and the rest embraced Magism."[61] Simeon of Beth-Arsam[62] states that even Babuæus, the successor of the above-mentioned Dadjesus as Catholicus of Seleucia, was slain by Firuz at the suggestion of Barsumas, on the accusation of being a friend and spy of the Romans.

It has already been observed that the doctors expelled from Edessa, of whom Barsumas was the chief, were not only received with honours in Persia, but that some of them obtained bishoprics. Thus Maanes was made bishop of Ardashir; Joannes of Beth-sor, in the district of the Garamæans; Michas of Loscium, in the same; Paulus of Cachæum, in the town of Leden, in the district of Ahvaz; Phases Curtæus of the town of Shuster; Abraham of the Medians; but Narses the Leper established a school at Nisibis. During the time of the patriarch Maanes there were already forty Persian bishops, but afterwards thirty-three of Khorasan are mentioned in addition with thirty-two of Persian Armenia, who are said to have remained orthodox till the

[61] *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. II., p. 384:—و طلب فيروز الملك اليعا قبة وقتلهم و قتل منهم بتكريت خلق و تمجس الباقون

[62] He flourished A.D. 510, and was a great propagator of the faith: *ibid.*, I. p. 341

21st year of the reign of Firuz, *i.e.* A.D. 478, when they all made profession[63] of Nestorianism.

A'mru was, as a Nestorian writer, naturally of a different opinion from the orthodox party, and ascribes also the death of Babuæus,[64] not as Simon of Beth-Arsam has done, to the machinations of Barsumas, but to those of Gabriel the physician of Sinjár, as will be seen below; he nevertheless also asserts that "when Firuz was informed of Babuæus's being a Persian convert from Magism he prohibited him from ordaining bishops and other priests; this command, however, Babuæus disregarded, wherefore his property, which was large, being confiscated and himself thrown into prison, he remained a captive seven years and then died; meanwhile the Christians suffered persecution on his account, the explanation of which would extend to a great length."[65] A'mru's narrative of the manner in which Babuæus perished is so interesting that the whole of it is here translated:—"The king of Persia had a skilful physician whose name was Gabriel of Sinjár, who cohabited with a number of women whom he kept; wherefore the said Catholicus [Babuæus] became displeased with him, reprimanded him, and ordered him to select one of them, with whom he might live according to the precepts of the Evangel, and to dismiss the others. As the physician refused to comply, the Catholicus excommunicated him, and prohibited him from approaching the church as well as the Eucharist; wherefore he became his foe, spoke perfidiously of the Catholicus to the king as well as to his courtiers, and sowed discord between the Catholicus and his bishops and flock, but without effect. He persevered, however, in his contumacy, and could not decide to submit; therefore he sent into the district of Malatia to invite adherents of Eutyches and Dioscorus, on whom he bestowed honours and gifts, so that some persons began to follow them, and he built a church to reinstal the sect there. Then the Catholicus wrote to Leo, the emperor of the Romans, a letter

[63] Letter of Simeon Beth-Arsamensis, *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. I., p. 356.

[64] He succeeded Dadjesus A.D. 465, and was slain A.D. 485, in the 20th year of his patriarchate.

[65] و نقل الى فيروز ان بابوى القطرك كان مجوسيا و تنصّر فعاند و منعه من ان يسيم اساقفه اوغيرهم فاسام و خالفه وكان قد جمع عنده مالا كثيرا فاخذ الجميع منه و قيّده و عذبه و ضربه و ارماه فى الحبس سبع سنين و جرى على النصارى بسببه من الاذى ما يطول شرحه

wherein he complained of what had befallen him at the hand of the king [in his refusal to punish Gabriel?]; this letter he sealed with his own ring and despatched in the year 792 [of the Greeks, or A.D. 481, which being too late may be the error of a copyist]. The king of Persia was very gracious towards Barsumas, the metropolitan of Nisibis; he was pleased with him, he liked him, and made him his companion. When he became aware of his science, bravery, and personal attractions, he bestowed on him the government of Nisibis with the surrounding districts adjoining the country of the Romans, and confiding them, with their affairs, to his keeping; wherefore Barsumas entertained also watchmen on the thoroughfares and passages for the security of the country. When the bearer of the letter of Babuæus the patriarch passed near some of these guardians of the road, he apprehended that he might be made prisoner; accordingly he threw away whatever he had with him and fled. This letter was, however, brought to Barsumas with its seal, who despatched it to Firuz, by way of precaution, without opening it. When the letter was brought to the king, he gave it, on account of its being written in Syriac, to his physician Gabriel to read. After perusing it Gabriel changed some words and added a few, to draw wrath on the writer by making him complain of the king of Persia, and calling the latter the master of the impious kingdom. Hereupon Firuz summoned Babuæus to his presence and spoke to him as follows:—"It would have been proper to kill thee before thou hadst transgressed my command, but I showed thee leniency till thou hast spoken and written about me. Now if thou wilt retrace thy steps and become a Zoroastrian, I will pardon thee everything, augment thy honours, and raise thee to a higher station." Babuæus replied, 'God forbid that I should depart from light to darkness, and exchange perishable for eternal life.' Accordingly he ordered him to be hanged by the finger on which he wore his ring, which was done, and he remained suspended outside the city of Madayn until he died. Then some people from Hirah took his body and buried it there. He is considered a martyr, and the time of his patriarchate amounts to twenty years. When Barsumas heard that Babuæus had perished by the enmity of Gabriel, he made haste, and arriving at the court asked for the letter in the presence of the king, in order to convince himself of its truth or falsehood; Gabriel, however, refused to surrender it, saying, 'I tore it up that very hour on account of the wicked insinuations it contained;' Barsumas accused him of lying, and replied,

'Hadst thou spoken what is true, thou wouldst have kept the letter to confirm thy statement.' On account of this affair contentions took place between Barsumas and the sect of Gabriel, which it would be long to narrate, and in which much blood was shed." A'mru describes Babuæus as a pious man who ordered that, to avoid temptation, every priest should have his own wife; and, as he appears to have been very well acquainted with the customs of the Magi, the blunder of stating that they burnt their corpses can certainly not be attributed to him, but to some scribe who added it to the text.[65a]

At this period not only Monophysites, Melchites, Nestorians, and other Christian sects existed in Persia, but also smaller ones, which sometimes, like the above-mentioned one of Gabriel, ceased to exist when their founders died.

Various Sects.

It is not intended to give in this place detailed accounts of the numberless sects, some of which originated almost contemporaneously with the promulgation of Christianity; an acquaintance with these may be gathered from various authors, but they will briefly be described only as far as they are connected with Persia, and for that purpose it will be necessary to begin with Gnosticism.

It is well known that all the great religions of the world originated in the East, but its isolation from the West, which had more or less subsisted down to the times of Alexander, diminished greatly during the wars of that conqueror, when the religious and philosophical doctrines of Greece, Egypt, Persia, and India came in contact with each other; a fusion of some of the tenets of these produced Gnosticism, which name is derived from the root γνῶσις, *knowledge*.[66] According to the countries in which they flourished, there were numerous systems of Gnosticism, although their aim was one as well as their claim, namely the discovery of phenomena unknown and unknowable to men, such as the origin and destiny of man, the creation of the world, the supernatural cause or causes which produced it, &c. One consequence of the fusion of Oriental doctrines alluded to above is represented in Gnosticism and in Platonism precisely as in Hinduism, namely, the belief in the emanation from and final return to the Deity of all intelligences; it is still prevalent not only among Hindus, but also among the Moslem Çufis,

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[65a] *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. I., p. 428.

[66] The عارف of the Çufis.

and may be said to be countenanced even in the Korán.[67] In Europe the first traces of the language and ideas of Gnosticism occur in Pythagoras and Plato, both of whom are known to have drawn their inspiration from the East,[68] although the writers of the school of Alexandria, who flourished before the Christian era, always placed the speculations of the Greeks above those of the Orientals. But the origin of Gnosticism is perhaps to be sought much earlier, namely, among the Jews in their Babylonian captivity, many of whom afterwards went to Alexandria and carried the doctrines of Gnosticism acquired among the Persians to that place. Zoroastrianism was a source from which the Jews borrowed; thus, for instance, the Amshaspands created by Ormuzd, surrounding his throne, and transmitting the prayers of mankind to him, have been adopted by the Gnostics and Cabalists, who retained even the distinction into males and females. The second series of spirits, the Yezeds watching with Ormuzd and the Amshaspands over the welfare of mankind, with Mithra[69] at their head, amounted to at least thirty in number. In the Talmud, as in the Zend-Avesta, the government of the world is entrusted to angels, seventy of whom are appointed as protectors over each star, country, and town; and even every language, animal, man, wind, thunder, rain, &c. has its guardian angel. The third order of these pure spirits, *i.e.* that of the Feroers, is infinitely more numerous; they are the ideas of Ormuzd which he conceived before creating the world; they are also protectors of mankind. The Cabalists have a similar chain of beings or energies all emanating from God, whom they class into thirty gates or elements from which substances are formed. With them Belial occupies the position of Ahriman, who has among the Zoroastrians also three classes of genii, like those just mentioned, but all of evil tendency; and the Pharisees[70] pretended to be in possession of an exclusive science according to which they, like the Persians, taught doctrines attributing every good to the angels of Jehovah. These two

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[67] *Surah* II. 151:— انا لله وانا اليه راجعون also II. 285, III. 27, V. 21, XX. 13, XXII. 47, XL. 3, XLII. 14, LX. 4, LXIV. 3, and many other passages.

[68] Both of them studied in Egypt; the former had also intercourse with Chaldæans and Magi, but not the latter: *Diog. Laert.*, lib. viii., c. 4, and lib. iii., c. 8.

[69] The worship of this Yezed developed itself into a system, and he was made the sun-god by the Greeks and Romans. See *A Discourse on the Mithraic Worship*, &c., by K. R. Cama, 1876.

[70] Interpreter, פרש pl. פרשים.

doctrines were, of course, drawn from the Scriptures, but greatly amplified.

The idea of emanation is an essential one in Zoroastrianism; also according to the Cabala everything has emanated from an infinite source of light; emanation was equally acceptable to the Greeks and to the Eastern philosophers, according to whom a series of Æons and Deities issued from it. Hence, after the promulgation of Christianity, the first of those Æons, the *Logos*, or Word, of the same substance with the Father, and becoming the Saviour of the human race, could by no means be repugnant to, and was accordingly accepted by, the Gnostics. A real incarnation was, however, inconceivable to the numerous sects of Gnostics, who called themselves Christians, but pretended that the body of Jesus was only a *phantasm*. The Korán even bears testimony that this doctrine, if it did not survive the time of the author of that book, must at least have been known to him.[71] At any rate, as late as A.D. 564 the emperor Justinian scandalized the Catholics as well as the Jacobites by the declaration that the body of Christ was incorruptible, and that his manhood was never subject to any wants and infirmities, the inheritance of mortal flesh. This *phantastic* opinion was announced in the last edict of Justinian.

If the speculations of the Cabala, contemporary with the beginning of Christianity or posterior to it, had originated with Moses or the patriarchs, as the Jews pretended, it would be something quite different from what it is. The Old Testament was not influenced by Gnosticism, like the Talmud, and the mere occurrence of the word *gnosis* in the Septuagint version counts for nothing; its mention in the New Testament, in Luke ii. 52 and 1 Cor. ii. 14, viii. 1-9, may perhaps be considered of the same import, unless we take it in the first passage to be, not an allusion to the totality of revelations and divine institutions of Judaism, but to *the science* communicated by Pythagoreans to their most intimate disciples only, and afterwards exclusively attributed by the Gnostics to themselves alone.

It appears that the schisms which afterwards divided the Church began very early, as already in A.D. 57 some said that they were of Paul, of Apollos, of Cephas, or of Christ.[72] Other doctrines, as well as certain fables and genealogies, are mentioned as having been taught;[73]

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[71] *Surah* IV. 156:— وما قتلوه وما صلبوه ولكن شبه

[72] 1 Cor. i. 12.

[73] 2 Tim. i. 3, 4; iv. 7.

but the *antithesis* of "a false *gnosis*, which some professing have erred concerning the faith,"[74] may possibly refer to the principles of dualism, to light and darkness, and the two great classes of good and evil spirits inculcated by Zoroastrianism and the Cabala, and constituting the most essential doctrine of the Gnostics, whose precursors are alluded to by the apostle. It cannot be denied that this contrast between light and darkness is strongly set forth in the Epistle to the Ephesians, where we are exhorted to walk as children of light,[75] are supposed to wrestle with the rulers of darkness,[76] and are said to have walked according to the prince of the powers of the air.[77]

The Gospel of St. John was written about the end of the first century at Ephesus, one of the chief foci of Græco-Oriental Gnosticism, which developed itself into several schools after the death of this apostle. The Gnostics attributed the creation of the material world to immaterial beings, and by admitting various principles or intelligences, as well as various spiritual agencies, which they call *the beginning, the word, the only-begotten, the life, the light, the spirit.* St. John scarcely alludes to any doctrines of the Gnostics, never uses the word *gnosis,* and the expressions just adduced chiefly, if not exclusively, in the first chapter of his Gospel only, so that if any refutation of Gnosticism be intended it must be limited to that chapter. The case is somewhat different with the book of Revelations, where the following analogies with the Zend-Avesta, with the Cabala, and the Gnosis may be pointed out:—First of all, the number seven plays a conspicuous part: we meet with seven angels, candlesticks, seals, spirits, stars, &c. in numerous passages. The seven spirits or angels[78] are the seven Amshâspands; the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and end, is the Zervana Akarana;[79] the unfathomable depths of Satan are those of Ahriman.[80] The contrast between the good and bad creation,[81] the Zoroastrian distinction of unclean animals or Devs,[82] the cunning serpent, the old dragon,[83] and various other similarities are apparent enough.

Simon Magus acquired a great name in Samaria by the practice of sorcery, and the people called him "the great power of God." He believed and was baptized, but when he saw that through the laying

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74 2 Tim. vi. 20, 21.
75 2 Tim. v. 8.
76 *Ibid.* vi. 12.
77 *Ibid.* ii. 2.
78 Rev. i. 4, viii. 2, xv. 1.
79 Rev. i. 8.
80 *Ibid.* ii. 24.
81 *Ibid.* xii. 3, 7.
82 *Ibid.* xvi. 13.
83 *Ibid.* xx. 2.

on of the apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given he offered them money. This so incensed Peter that he sharply reproved him, whereupon Simon departed with the gentle reply, "Pray ye to the Lord for me, that none of these things which ye have spoken come upon me,"[84] and afterwards became the chief of a Gnostic sect, into which he incorporated some doctrines of Christianity, and which was after him developed by his disciples, who spread themselves chiefly over Syria, Phrygia, and Rome, where he is said to have been "deceiving the people by his sorceries," and whither Simon Cephas himself proceeded to counteract them.[85] The adherents of Simon Magus pretended to be Christians, but were considered heretics; then Menander, and after him Cerinthus, was the chief of these so-called Christians, and to both of them some very absurd doctrines are attributed; their names, however, do not occur in the New Testament, but the Nicolaitanes, whose leader was Nicolaus, incur the blame of St. John.[86]

As to the origin of the intellectual and of the lower world, all the Gnostic schools agree on the two principles of emanation and creation by the Demiurge. The intellectual world is a manifestation of the faculties of the Supreme Being, the unknown Father, and was created by a series of emanations. The lower world is, on the contrary, far from being the work of God, but was created by an inferior power. Concerning the nature of this power, or the manner of these creations, the schools of Syria and Egypt differed, according to the influence of Zoroastrianism on the one, and of Platonism on the other; and the school of Marcion, which is the third, has been derived both from the Syrian and the Egyptian.

Bardasanes, a native of Edessa, contrary to Marcion who greatly disregarded the Scriptures, followed not only the canonical, but also several apocryphal writings of the Jews and Christians; he moreover pretended to have found a Gnosis in the Bible, which was connected with that of Philo, the Cabala, and the Zend-Avesta. His system was presided over by two principles,—the first "the unknown Father," dwelling in eternal light, and the second "eternal matter," an inert dark mass, the source of all evils and the residence of Satan. The first creature produced by the unknown Father, and placed by him in paradise was the mother "of the Son of the living God," of Christos.[87]

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[84] Acts viii. 9-24.
[85] See the "Doctrine of the Apostles" in the first footnote of this paper.
[86] Rev. ii. 6, 15.
[87] *Histoire Critique du Gnosticisme*, &c, par J. Matter, tom. I., p. 307

Marcion was born at Sinope during the second century, and having embraced Christianity became in course of time bishop of his native city, whence he was, however, soon ejected, and went to Rome, as he believed that the people were too Judaizing. He rejected all the Scriptures, on the plea that they had been tampered with, and retained only one Gospel, resembling that of Luke, which he called "the evangel of the Lord;" but it had evidently been manipulated by him to suit his own views. Some Gnostic doctors had before the time of Marcion entertained the doctrine that the God of the Jews was only a secondary divinity,[88] the chief of the angels and governors of the world; but he first made it the basis of his system, which acknowledged, like that of Zoroaster, the Cabala, and the East in general, only two great principles. This third principle, namely, the God of the Jews, created the world, but being totally unknown to men he could not manifest himself to them except by assuming the human form, and announced himself as the Redeemer, the Christ. Marcus, and Apelles the successor of Marcion, altered his doctrines; his followers mixed with various other Christian sects, and ultimately some of them fled to Persia, where they became in course of time fused with orthodox Christians, when Gnosticism, which had after the spread of Christianity always attempted to identify itself therewith, but had always been rejected, finally disappeared.

It is curious to observe how closely Sharastáni[89] agrees in his description of the above-named three principles of the Marcionites with some European authors as to the relation of these principles to one another; he distinctly states that the two first were eternal light and eternal darkness, whilst the third or intermediate principle is inferior to light. His account of Máni and Mazdak, both of whom will again be alluded to in another part of this paper, with their tenets, is also very interesting, and entirely divested of the acrimony with which polemical Christian writers of early times have imbued their refutations of these two sects. Sharastáni states that the Manichæans are the adherents of Máni Ben Fátek, who flourished during the time of Sháp'úr Ben Ardashir, and was slain by Behrám Ben Hormuz Ben Sháp'úr. His religion was a mixture of Magism and Christianity,

[88] The assertion of Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, ch. xlvii.) that "in the system of the Gnostics the Jehovah of Israel, the creator of the lower world, was a rebellious, or at least an ignorant spirit," is too strong; it has been seen that according to the exposition of faith occurring in the address of Mihr Nerseh to the princes of Armenia, the position of Ormuzd was analogous, and likewise secondary.

[89] P. 195.

acknowledging the prophetship of the Messiah and of Moses. Máni believed the universe to be composed of two eternal, imperishable principles, namely, light and darkness, both of which, being personified, exhibit opposite qualities, those of the former being all good, and of the latter bad. Here we again meet with a third principle, or God, or angel, who creates the world and becomes the Redeemer. When, namely, the God of light perceived that the portions of the good were gradually commingling with those of the bad creation, he sent an angel who created the world in order to save the former from the latter, by the operation of the sun, the moon, and the stars. The sun purifies whatever is mixed with the demons of heat, and the moon whatever is mixed with the demons of cold. According to this scheme the air never ceases to rise, because it is to ascend to its own world, and so do all the particles of light; whilst those of darkness must sink until all the particles of light are redeemed, and the mixture above alluded ceases to exist, which will be the resurrection. This secretion from darkness and elevation of the particles of light is promoted by holiness, by good words, and good acts. The lucid particles are by the morning rays conveyed to the sphere of the moon, thence to the sun, and finally to the uppermost and purest light. This operation will continue until but a small portion of solidified light remains in the world, which neither the sun nor the moon is able to purify. Then the angel who carries the earth will call the angel who attracts the firmament, whereupon the upper and the lower parts of the universe will fall on each other and will kindle a fire, which will burn until all the light it contains is melted. Máni prescribed to his followers four prayers within the day and night, the adoration of God, abstinence from falsehood, murder, theft, adultery, covetousness, sorcery, and idolatry.

Mazdak made his appearance during the reign of Kobád, whom he induced to profess his religion; but Nushirván, who knew Mazdak to be an impostor, slew him. The tenets of Mazdak somewhat resemble those of Máni, but with the difference that, according to the former, light is considered to operate wisely and for a purpose, but darkness ignorantly and blindly; according to the Marcionites and Manichæans also, the redemption alluded to above takes place more by a mechanical operation than by the display of intellectual faculties. As Mazdak believed all feuds and murders to be ultimately traceable to women and to property, he maintained that both ought to be enjoyed in common by all, like water and fire. According to this system there were three

original elements, namely, water, fire, and earth. When these commingled they produced the director of good and the director of evil, so that whatever is pure in them became a director of good, and whatever is impure of evil. The God of Mazdak sits in the upper world on a throne, like a king in the nether one, and is attended by four powers, namely, discernment, comprehension, memory, and joy; just as the terrestrial king has four chief ministers, namely, the Mobed of Mobeds, the great Herbad, the commander of the army, and the chief musician.

The four powers just mentioned govern the world through seven Veziers, namely, Sállár, Peshkár, Bálún, Berván, Kárdán,[90] Destúr, and Kúdak; each of whom is attended by twelve spirits, namely, Kánendeh, Dehendeh, Sitánendeh-Burendeh, Khorendeh, Duvendeh, Khizendeh, Kushendeh, Zenendeh, Kunendeh, Ayindeh, Showendeh, Payindeh;[91] moreover, each human being possesses the first-named four powers, but the seven and the twelve have become dominant over them in the nether world, whereas the sovereign of the upper one governs by the letters the sum of which constitutes the ineffable name; if any man knows something about these letters, the great mystery is revealed to him; but he who does not, remains, as to the true balance of the four powers, in ignorance, forgetfulness, folly, and grief.

The account given by Sharastáni of the Christian sects[92] is as follows:—The Christians are the people of Jesus the Messiah, who was sent in reality after Moses and was predicted in the Pentateuch. He performed evident miracles, such as resuscitating the dead, healing lepers and persons born blind. His very existence and whole nature are a perfect miracle, as he was begotten without human agency, and spoke without having been taught. His mission on earth began with his thirtieth and ended with his thirty-third year. After his mission the Apostles

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[90] The *Dabestán*, Calcutta typogr. ed. 1812, p. ١٦٦ has for three of these Veziers *Báwer*, *Dirdán*, and *Kár-rán*, باور د يردان كاررات which appear to be better than the Bálún, Berván, and Kárdán of the Arab author.

[91] It may be observed that in this enumeration there are thirteen names given in the Arabic text of Sharastáni, and that therefore either *Sitanendeh* and *Burendeh*, or *Ayindeh* and *Showendeh*, which may respectively be considered as nearly synonymous, the former couple meaning *taker* and *carrier*, the latter *comer* and *becomer*, must be taken together so as to reduce the number to twelve, and I have preferred to connect the first-mentioned couple by a hyphen. The *Dabestán* has *Cherendáh*, the *grazer* or *browser*, for *Khizendeh*, the *riser*, but omits *Kunendeh*, the *doer*; wherefore the reduction suggested here is not required there.

[92] P. ١٧١—١٧٩

and others began to differ chiefly on two points : firstly, on his descending from heaven, his connection with his mother, and the incarnation of the Word ; and, secondly, on the manner of his ascension, his joining the angels, and on the unification of the Word. One party agreed on the incarnation of the Word, but differed in the details thereof, as some asserted that it shone on the body as the light on a transparent substance ; whilst another party believed that it was impressed thereon like a mark on wax ; and again another asserted that with it the spiritual and physical manifestation took place simultaneously. Others again state that divinity was invested with humanity ; whilst some believe that the Word commingled with the Messiah like milk with water. They attributed three persons to God, but asserted his essence to be one, maintaining that it is spiritual, without bounds or solidity, so that he is one in essence, but three in persons,—by which they meant qualities, such as existence, life, and knowledge,—namely, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, knowledge alone being incarnated. They state that the Jews crucified him from envy and hatred, because they denied his prophetic mission and dignity ; the murder, however, did not extend to the divine, but only to the human portion. The perfection of a human being consists in three things, namely, prophetship, Emamship, and supernatural power. Some prophets were endued with several, or with all these qualities ; but the degree of the Messiah is higher, because he is the only Son, to whom no other prophets can be compared. Through him the transgression of Adam is forgiven, and the human race becomes responsible. There is a difference of opinion about his second coming ; whilst some believe, with the professors of Islám, that his advent will take place before the day of judgment, others assert that he will come only after it. He was crucified, but was seen after his resurrection by Simon Cephas, to whom he spoke, gave advice, and ascended to heaven. His legatee was Simon Cephas, the chief of his Apostles in knowledge, piety, and soundness of doctrine, which Paul mixed with philosophy and the suggestions of his own imagination.

The Melikites are the followers of Melik,[93] who assert that the Word became incarnate in the body of the Messiah, and was invested

[93] This is of course a mistake of Sharastáni, as the Melikites (spelt Melchites by European authors) obtained their name from the word ملك *melik* in its designation of *king* ; so that the Melikites are literally *royalists*, but were fond of calling themselves Catholics. The Orientals nicknamed them thus because they maintained that the Catholic faith is not based on the Scriptures, but on the arbitrary power of temporal princes.

with its humanity. The Melikites designated the Word as the principle of knowledge, and the Holy Ghost as the principle of life, nor do they call knowledge before being invested therewith the Son, but the Messiah after being so. They believe in the Trinity, but say that the Messiah is wholly and not partly man; he is nevertheless existing from all eternity, and the crucifixion befell both his human and his divine nature. When, however, Arius asserted that God is eternal and the Messiah created; the patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops assembled in Constantinople to the number of 313 men, in the presence of their emperor, and agreed on the following confession of faith:—"We believe in the only God, the Father, the Creator of everything visible; and in his only Son Jesus, the Messiah, the Son of God, the first of all creatures, not made; the true God of the true God, of the nature of his Father, by whose hands the worlds and all things were established; who descended for our sake, and for our salvation, from heaven, became incarnate through the Holy Spirit, was born of the Virgin Mary, was crucified in the time of Pilate, and buried; but rose on the third day, ascended to heaven, and seated himself on the right of his Father, being ready to come for the second time to judge the dead and the quick; and we believe in the only Holy Spirit, the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from his Father;[94] also in one baptism for the pardon of sins; in one holy Messianic Catholic Church; in the resurrection of our bodies to permanent life, lasting for ever and ever."[95]

As Sharastáni speaks of the Nestorians, who flourished during the time of the Khalif Mámún,[96] and asserts that they had some tenets in common with the Muḥammadan sect of Motazzelites, it will be better to give an account of them from a more authentic source:—Although up to the beginning of the fifth century the *unity* of the *two natures* had been the prevailing doctrine of the Church, Nestorius had in the Syrian school been taught to abhor that doctrine, and to discriminate the *humanity* from the *divinity* of Christ. Whilst patriarch of Constanti-

[94] "From the Father and the Son": *Book of Common Prayer of the United Church of England and Ireland.*

[95] Sharastáni, p. ١٧٤—١٧٥. It may here be observed that the principal creeds of Christians are the Apostolic, the Athanasian, and the Nicene which was framed A.D. 325, when Arius was excommunicated by 318 fathers assembled in council at Nicæa. The one given above is of the first-named kind, and is, excepting only the words pointed out in the preceding note, materially the same with that used at present by the Roman Catholic, the United Church of England, and many other churches of Europe and America.

[96] Reigned from A.D. 812 till 833.

nople, he, although revering the mother of Christ, preached against the use of the expression "mother of God," unknown to the Apostles. Sermons of this kind caused disputes, and the authority of Nestorius was renounced by several congregations. Cyril, the bishop of Alexandria, who professed the incarnation of one nature, became the foe of Nestorius and appealed to the Vatican; and Celestine, feeling greatly flattered, condemned the sentiments of Nestorius and degraded the heretic from his patriarchal dignity; neither the emperor, however, nor the primate of the East, was disposed to obey the mandate of the Italian priest, and a synod was held at Ephesus A.D. 431, which lasted from June till October, where Cyril with his bishops degraded Nestorius, and a synod of 50 Oriental bishops condemned Cyril. The rival synods hurled anathemas at each other, and the difference of opinion resulted in bloodshed, which the meek emperor Theodosius stopped by dissolving the council with the words, "God is my witness that I am not the author of this confusion. His providence will discern and punish the guilty. Return to your provinces, and may your private virtues repair the mischief and scandal of your meeting." When Nestorius perceived that the sect of Cyril was becoming dominant even in Constantinople, he voluntarily abdicated his position of patriarch, A.D. 435, but was persecuted, and at last died in Upper Egypt. Henceforth Nestorianism was persecuted, so that within the space of less than a century after it had been proscribed but few churches of that denomination existed in the Roman empire. But in Persia, where Christianity had been planted by the missionaries of Syria, the Nestorian doctrines flourished; proselytes from the Zend-Avesta to the Gospel increased, and the famous school at Edessa produced many remarkable teachers of Christianity. Although from the first the kings of Persia, but especially the Magi, looked with no favourable eye on the propagation of Christianity, whose professors being of the same religion with their foes the Romans, or more strictly Byzantines, were on that account always believed to be inimical not only to the religion of the country, but also to the government, the fact that the Nestorians were persecuted by the Romans insured to them much more toleration than they would otherwise have enjoyed. This was particularly the case during the reign of Kobád, when the Nestorians entirely separated themselves from the Roman Christians, the intercourse and correspondence with whom had always been disapproved of by the Persian government; and when the Persian clergy universally threw off

the law of celibacy so strictly enforced on monks by the Greek, and on all priests by the Roman hierarchs. The Nestorian became in course of time the most predominant of all Christian sects in Persia, and enjoyed special favours under Nushirván; it is even taken for granted by some authors that his grandson Khosru Parviz was a Christian, and it is believed by some that he himself was a Manichæan.

Prevalence of Nestorianism.

After the demise, or rather the execution, of Babuæus,—described above,—the bishops assembled at Seleucia and elected a relative of his, named Acacius (sat from A.D. 485, died A.D. 489), whom they are, by the so-called orthodox writers, asserted to have compelled to subscribe to the Nestorian doctrines; afterwards he convoked a synod, in which they were publicly fixed, and henceforth predominated in the whole of the East. The synodic book translated from Syriac into Arabic bears the title,—"The Synod of Acacius, in which was present Barsumas, the Metropolitan of Nisibis, and a congregation of the fathers."[97] This book appears to embrace only the portion of the canons relating to monks, celibacy, and marriage. It consists of three canons. The first is levelled against certain monks who condemned matrimony and certain kinds of food; the second prohibits them from roaming about towns and villages, and from taking upon themselves the duties of bishops and priests in the administration of the sacraments, but orders them to remain in their convents. The third allows marriage to all priests and laymen, and is as follows:—"Let henceforth no bishop prohibit any man from marrying, and let the calamities which the Christian flock has been subject to from fornication and adultery, rumoured even to strangers, cease. Let, however, marriage be permitted to the clergy and laity in a proper manner, because the Messiah has said that not every one can accept this proposition, and the Apostle says that it is good for a man not to approach a woman, but let him, for the sake of avoiding fornication, adhere to his wife, and I wish that all men could be like myself, but if they cannot contain themselves let them marry. A man must either avoid the world altogether or mix with it piously, and if he be a priest, let him have one wife, as it is written in the letter of the apostle to Timothy.[98] Let henceforth no bishop place his hand on a deacon without previous inquiry concerning

[97] سنهودس اقاق وكان فيها برصوما مطران نصيبين والجماعة من الآبا

[98] 1 Tim. iii. 12.

him, and he must have a lawful wife; and let him who chooses to live in celibacy seek a place far from men; if, however, he afterwards again returns to worldly affairs, such as marriage and the like, let him be punished, and if he be a priest, divested of his office until he repents. Let a married man have but one wife, and if he transgresses he is to be excommunicated from the Church, and from the dignity of priesthood. An unmarried priest, or one whose wife has died, is not to be forbidden by the bishop to contract a lawful marriage if so inclined, either before or after his ordination as a priest. Let every one opposing this be under an anathema if a layman, and deposed if he be a priest."[99]

Barhæbræus, one of the above-mentioned orthodox authors, asserts that the predominance of Nestorianism was brought about by violent means, and states that Barsumas, the bishop of Nisibis, spoke as follows to king Firúz:— "Unless the faith of the Christians living in your dominions be different from that which the Christians of the Greek empire profess, they will never be sincerely loyal to you." Firúz assented to this opinion, and ordered him to act as he liked. Bar-

[99] من الان لا يمنع اسقف لاحد من التزويج فيكفي ما مضى من البلك يا في الرعيه من الفجور والزنا حتى سمع به الغربا* لكن يكون هذا مباحا في الاقليرس والعلما بين بحسن الواجب* فالمسيح قال وليس كل احد يقتدر على هذه الكلمة والسليح يقول حسن بالانسان الا يدنو الى امراة لكن بسبب الزنا يتمسّك بزوجته واريد الناس ان يكونوا مثلي وان لم يصبروا فليزوجوا والانسان ينبغي له ان يبعد العالم بالجملة ويتصل به بتقوى وان يكون الكاهن هوالذي له زوجة واحدة على مافي رسالة سليح الى طيماثاوس* ومن الان لا يضع الاسقف يده على احد بالتشمسة الا بعد البحث عنه ويكون له زوجة ناموسيه ويامر بان من يختار ترك التزوج فليطلب مسكنًا بعيدًا من الناس* فان عطف على شي من امور الدنيا تزوج وغيره يوذّب ويحّل ان كان كاهنا من درجته الى ان يتوب والمتزوج يكون له زوجه واحدة* ومن بعدي هذا يبعد من البيعه ومن درجة الكهنوت والكاهن غير المتزوج او الذي ماتت امراته لا يمنعه الا سقف من التزوج النا موسى ان شا قبل الكهنوت او بعده* ومن خالف هذا كان تحت الحرم ان كان عالميًا ومقطوع ان كان كاهنًا*

sumas continued:—"There was a patriarch of the Greeks, a wise and learned man, Nestorius by name, who loved the Persians, and never ceased to exhort the Greeks, saying, 'If you are Christians, you must follow the footsteps of Christ, manifest an humble mind towards your foes, and pray for those who curse you.' On this account he was hated by the Greeks, and removed from the patriarchate. If, therefore, you will give me authority, I will compel all the Christians of your dominions to follow the tenets of that man, for which they will be hated by the Greeks." Firúz being pleased with this advice, Barsumas, supported by Persian soldiers, went forth from Seleucia, travelled to the province of Beth-Garma, and shed much blood of the faithful there. Thence he intended to proceed to Takryt, but the people threatened to divulge all his crimes to Firúz and bring punishment on him, so that he became afraid, departed from them and went to Arbela, the bishop of which place immediately fled to the convent of Cuchta, *i.e.* St. Matthew, on Mount Elpheph. Barsumas, however, captured the bishop with twelve monks, who had taken their last refuge in the caverns of the mountains, and sent them all prisoners to Nisibis. Thence he again came down to Niniveh, and slew ninety priests in the monastery of Biznith, killing also many others in the adjoining villages for refusing to comply with his orders. It is said that the whole number of persons slain by Barsumas amounted to more than 7,700.

The same orthodox writers also state, and put it to the account of the Nestorian doctrines, that sacrilegious marriages and fornications of the bishops, priests, deacons, and laymen were unblushingly celebrated, so that everywhere infants could be seen thrown away, lying in thoroughfares and on dunghills, where dogs tore them to pieces, and that, to obviate this evil, Acacius built a house in which he collected the bastards, and hired nurses to suckle them. This may be so, but it is contrary to common sense and to experience that illegitimate connections and offspring should increase when marriages do.

Acacius having been also sent as ambassador by Firúz to the emperor Zeno, was reprimanded by the Occidental bishops for countenancing the proceedings of the sacrilegious Barsumas, the slayer of Babuæus; they also threatened to excommunicate him like Barsumas, unless he would deprive the latter of his dignity; accordingly he promised to pronounce, on his return to Persia, the sentence of deposition against Barsumas; but as to the Nestorian heresies, of which they likewise accused him, he assured them that Xenaias, a foe of the Orientals, had so nicknamed

them. When, however, he arrived in Persia, he found that Barsumas had died long before, having, it is said, been assailed in the church by the nuns of Mount Abdin and slain with the keys of their cells. His successor was the metropolitan Hosee, and shortly afterwards Narses also died, after having governed the school of Nisibis during half a century.

Firúz began to reign A.D. 457 and died 483. During this period of a quarter of a century, Firúz had once been removed from the throne and again recovered it, but towards the end of his reign he was involved in wars with the Huns; at that time Armenia was governed by Persian governors, but Vahan the Manigonian, profiting by the embarrassment in which the king found himself, revolted, expelled his generals and proclaimed (A.D. 481) prince Sahag, of the race of the Pagratides, as Marzbán, and prepared to uphold the independence he had just acquired, by entering into an alliance with Vakthang, the king of Iberia, and with the Huns. A'mru, who describes the death of Firúz, says, that "when he returned from the region of the Turks [strictly Huns] he ascribed his safety to his own prowess, returned also to his wickedness, and determined to extirpate the Christian religion; but as he again went to war against the Turks [Huns] he ordered a certain Marzbán to demolish the churches and convents by the time he came back. Accordingly he destroyed the school of St. Abdas, from which the Christians fled, but he encountered them and slew three hundred of them in one day. When the Turks [Huns] perceived that he had returned to them, they attacked and put him to flight, slaying many of his companions; and he, being afraid that they might capture him, committed suicide with his own sword, so that the world was delivered of his wickedness, and God granted tranquillity to his Church from his hand."[100] He was succeeded by Balash, under whom, as appears

[100] *Chronologia Regum Pers.*,—*Bibl. Or.*, tom. III. pt. I., p. 398:—

وبعد عود فيروز من بلد الترك قدّران سلامته كانت بنفسه عادّ الى
شرّه ورام ابطال دين النصرانيه وعاود الترك وتقدم الى مرزبان
كان له ان يهدم البيع والديارات الى حين عوده فهدم اسكول مارعبدا
وهرب النصارى وفي يوم واحد قتل في اجتيازه ثلثماية رجل من
النصاري * ولما راي الترك رجوعه اليهم حاربوه و هزموه و قتلوا
خلقًا من اصحابه و خاف ان يوخذه اسيرًا فقتل نفسه بسيفه و كفيت
الدنيا شرّه و اراح الله البيعه من يده

from the following reply of Zeno sent after a request to lend him money, Nisibis was still in the possession of the Persians :— "As to the taxes of the Nisibians which you illegally raise, as they for a long time rightly belong to the Romans, you may have them; but nothing more of what you desire."[101]

Balash expelled the barbarians who had entered Persia, and made, through his general Shápúr, peace with the above-mentioned Vahan, on condition that the Armenians should be allowed the free exercise of their religion. Vahan presented himself (A.D. 485) at the court of Persia, where he was honourably received, and obtained the dignity of Marzbán. During his administration Vahan was engaged in repairing the injuries which the war had inflicted on Armenia, and in repairing the churches. About this time the heresy of Eutyches spread in Armenia, and infected almost every priest. Vahan died during the reign of king Ḳobád, the brother of Balash, after having peacefully governed his country during twenty-six years. Balash reigned only four years, being deprived of his eyesight by the faction of the Magi, and removed from the government on the pretence that he had defiled water, and had disregarded their laws by his intention of constructing baths,—because the Magi worshipped not only fire, but also water, and accused those of sacrilege who polluted it.[102]

When Ḳobád ascended the throne, he sent ambassadors with an immense elephant to Zeno,[103] desiring him to despatch the promised sum of money. When the envoys arrived in Antioch they found that Anastasius had ascended the throne; accordingly Ḳobád instructed them to ask the money from the latter on peril of a declaration of war against him. Anastasius declared that he would never comply with a demand his predecessor had refused to assent to, especially as the Persians were still in possession of Nisibis, which they ought, according to the provisions of the treaty, to have surrendered. Anastasius had also been informed that Ḳobád persecuted the Armenian Christians subject to Persia because they would not adore fire, and was moreover favouring a new Zoroastrian or Magian heresy, according to which the promiscuous use of women was made licit. As soon as the Armenians heard of the refusal of Anastasius to comply with the demands of

101 Chronicle of Josue Stylites the Syrian, who flourished in the 5th century: *ibid.* pp. 262 *seq.*

102 *Ibid.*

103 Died on the 9th April A.D. 490.

Ḳobád, they again revolted from the Persians, demolished their pyræums, and having slain the Magi, with other inhabitants of Persian origin, they put the Marzbán of Ḳobád to flight with his army, offering allegiance to Anastasius, which, however, he refused to accept, as he was unwilling to give Ḳobád a cause for war. Meanwhile rebellions arose in various localities of Persia against Ḳobád, whom his own magnates hated because he had allowed adulterous connections with their women; and the Arab subjects of Persia, perceiving the state of confusion it was in, frequently made predatory incursions.[104] Ḳobád was removed from the government, which circumstance is narrated as follows in A'mru's life of Acacius:—"When Ḳobád Ben Firúz was made king he constructed watercourses, built towns, and intended to strengthen the sect of Zoroaster by allowing promiscuous connections of women and men; accordingly they commingled. This, however, so incensed the Magi on account of their women that they endeavoured to bring about his deposition, which they also accomplished."[105]

During the brief reign of Jamasp the layman Babæus,[106] who had a wife and sons, was, after the demise of Acacius in Seleucia, elected Catholicus. A'mru says concerning him—"After his ordination he assembled the fathers in a synod, in which he removed the anathemas between Babæus, Barsumas, and Acacius; ordered all the ministers of the Church, the priests and deacons, to marry, and that none should be without a wife whilst mixing with the world, in order to keep himself from falling into sin; and that each of them should have one wife openly and publicly, as the law prescribes.[107] Babæus presided over

[104] Josue Stylites in his chronicle, *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, vol. I., p. 265.

[105] و لما ملك قباد بن فيروز استخرج العياة وبني المدن و راي ان يقوي مذهب زرا تشت في اباحة النسا و الرجال و اباحت البعض مع البعض و غلظ ذلك علي المجوس لاجل نسايهم و اجتهدوا الي ان خلع *

[106] This Babæus is not to be confounded with the Catholicus Babuæus, whom, as was noticed above, Firúz had ordered to be suspended by the finger on which he wore his patriarchal ring, and whose body being afterwards taken to Hirah was there venerated as that of a martyr.

[107] ومن بعد ما اسيم جمع الا با وعمل منها ذوسا وابطل المحروم التى كانت بين بابوى وبرصوما واقاق و امر ان يتزج خدم البيعة سايرهم و القسان و الشمامسة ولا يكون بغير زوجة و هو بين العالم

the Church five years, and died A.D. 503. It is curious to observe in contrast to A'mru, who calls this Babæus a good and religious prelate who had brought up a family, what Simeon, who was bishop of Beth-Arsam from A. D. 510 till 525, says concerning him, at the conclusion of a letter on the Nestorian heresy :—" We likewise anathematize Mares of Taala, teacher of Babæus the Catholicus: for under this Babæus the Catholicus, this Mares arose, propagating the doctrine of Paul of Samosata and of Diodorus among the Aramæans, which also the Catholicus Babæus, son of Hormisdas, who had been the scribe of Zabargan, the Marzbán of the Aramæans [Assyrians], adopted from him."[108]

It has been observed above that Kobád had been removed from the throne for favouring the tenets of Mazdak,[109] who appears, however,

ليحفظ نفسه من الوقوع فى الخطيه ويكون لكل واحد امراة واحدة ظاهرا جليا كامر النا موس

[108] *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, I., p. 358.

[109] It will not be out of place here to give some account of this Zoroastrian heresiarch. According to Oriental sources Mazdak was a man of learning, born at Nishapúr, who established himself at Madayn, the Persian capital, where he assumed the *rôle* of a prophet, and produced a book of his own composition, named *Dysnaw*, containing his tenets. He professed to adhere to the two great principles of Zoroastrianism, which served as an introduction to others not in conformity therewith, and as a kind of palliative to make the latter acceptable. He stated that the world had two creators—a good one, namely light, called Yazdán; and a bad one, namely darkness, called Ahriman. All intelligences, spirits, the heavens and stars, are creations of Yazdán, as well as the elements, with their compounds, mines of gold and silver, fruit-trees, living animals, and virtuous men; and nothing but good comes from Yazdán. But the burning of animals by fire, the killing of living things by poison, the submersion of ships in water, the cutting of bodies with iron, the stinging of them by thorns, as well as all beasts of prey, are the contrivances of Ahriman. As Ahriman has no entrance to heaven, it is called Behesht; it begins also above the nether world, where Ahriman has influence. Whatever Ahriman has formed cannot abide. Thus, for instance, Yazdán gives life, but Ahriman death; Yazdán created Behesht (paradise), but Ahriman Dauzakh (hell). Adoration and prayers are due to Yazdán, whose realm is great; but Ahriman has no influence except in the elemental world. Whoever is Yazdáni his soul will enter paradise, and who is an Ahrimani will abide in hell. Therefore he is a wise man who keeps himself aloof from Ahriman, although Ahriman may tempt him, to make him believe that when he is delivered of the body his soul will go to heaven. Existence has two agents; the one is light, and the other darkness, which metaphorically represent Yazdán and Ahriman. Acts of light are performed by design, but acts of darkness by accident; everything good and profitable comes from light, whilst everything evil and wicked proceeds from darkness. So far the tenets of Mazdak agree with Zoroastrianism, but the following ones are contrary to it, and proclaim him to be the father of modern communism :—He preached community of property and of wives, asserting that every strife and contention in the world could always be traced to property and women; wherefore they ought to be enjoyed in common with all men, so that whoever does not agree

to have enjoyed some popularity even after the death of the king, and

to this division must be considered an adherent of Ahriman, and forcibly deprived of whatever he possesses. Mazdak is said to have converted Kobád to his views by pretending to be able to hold a conversation with fire, and that he concealed a man in a pyræum where he performed the miracle. It is more probable that the great popularity of Mazdak with the lowest orders may have induced the king, for the sake of his personal safety, to comply with his demands, than that he should have sincerely and voluntarily encouraged the propagation of doctrines subversive of all order and morality in the state. It may readily be believed that Mazdak was soon joined by multitudes of poor wretches who had nothing to lose, and everything to gain, by following his new religion; as well as that the utmost confusion arose from a mixture of both sexes and all classes, and that profligacy must have been indulged in to a great extent. It is even narrated that Mazdak himself one day made his way to the private apartments of the king, with the intention of engaging in amorous intercourse with the mother of Nushirván, who, although greatly shocked at the impostor's temerity, feared Kobád's wrath, and falling imploringly at Mazdak's feet, which he kissed, succeeded in warding off the dreaded calamity. Afterwards, when Nushirván ascended the throne, he first kept on good terms with Mazdak, as a matter of policy, in order to put him off his guard; when, however, the proper opportunity had arrived, he invited the heresiarch to a meeting, with all his adherents, in order to grant them some favours. On the appointed day Mazdak collected all his followers, on which occasion also Mundir Ben Ma-al-samá, whom Kobád had deprived of the government of Hirah for having refused to accept the religion of the impostor, happened to be present. Nushirván opened the meeting by saying to Mazdak, "I would ask the lord of this realm to grant me two wishes." Mazdak asked, "What are they?" The monarch continued, "One is that this high personage, who is Mundir, should be reseated on his throne at Hirah, and the other not to leave one of your followers alive." Mazdak replied, "O king, you cannot slay the inhabitants of the whole earth, because they are all my followers." Nushirván said, "Mazdak, I shall first discuss the tenets of your religion with you, and punish you after having demonstrated their falsity." Nushirván followed the doctrines of Timshar Sásán, some of whose disciples were forthwith produced to refute and abase the religion of Mazdak. Nushirván asked Mazdak, "Is it proper to give the same wages to a man who has worked and to one who has not?" Mazdak said, "That would be unjust." Nushirván continued, "Why, then, do you promulge the tenet that the property accumulated by one man should be given to another who had no hand in acquiring it?" He further asked, "One man ploughs and sows a field; will the harvest be his own, or will it belong to a man who has not laboured to produce it?" Mazdak replied, "It belongs to him who sowed it." Nushirván said, "How, then, do you assign one man's wife to another, and confuse families?" He further asked, "If one man kills another, how is the murderer to be punished?" Mazdak rejoined, "I do not approve of capital punishment, because if the murderer has committed evil it is not proper for us to do so likewise." Nushirván continued, "If we do not slay him, he may kill ten others. It is better to destroy the life of one man than that ten should perish." He further said, "O wicked man, the law you promulge is calculated to overthrow the government, and to annihilate obedience; because in consequence of it all family ties would be abolished, wicked men would cause anarchy, and the wealth of the nation would be dissipated." After these words he became more incensed with wrath, and shouted, "O Mazdak, from the day I kissed your feet, the stench of your stockings has been in my nostrils!" Then he issued orders to kill Mazdak, whereon he was immediately slain and hung on a gibbet. On the same day 100,000 of his followers lost their lives; and gallows having been erected between Nuhurván and Madayn they were hanged on

was destroyed only by his successor and son, Nushirván. Ḳobád died, however, on the throne, A.D. 531, to which he had again been restored A.D. 499, after his exile. Silas, the archdeacon of Babæus, became his successor during the reign of Ḳobád. Silas is accused of pride, luxury, and intemperance by those who call themselves orthodox writers; they also state that he gave the ornaments of the Church to his own son, and that being reproved for it by one Mar-Athan he excommunicated him. He appointed the physician Elisæus, who had married his daughter, to succeed him. Silas was nevertheless honoured by Ḳobád because he was the head of the Christian Church, as well as for the sake of the Borak of Josak, the bishop of Ahváz, who had cured Ḳobád of a disease, and had, when peace was restored, been allowed to build churches. Silas died A.D. 523, after governing the Church during eighteen years. A'mru confirms the above by saying that "Ḳobád honoured him [Silas] on account of Yuzak, the bishop of the province of Ahváz, because he had cured him of a disease, and that therefore the Christians enjoyed tranquillity, and churches were built."[110] By Christians A'mru of course means Nestorians, who enjoyed religious liberty; whilst on the other hand Barhebræus states that Ḳobád did not favour them, but the orthodox party:—"There [*i.e.* among the Huns, whom Barhebræus[110a] wrongly calls Greeks, and to whom Ḳobád had temporarily fled after being supplanted on the throne by Jamásp] he learnt the true state of the Christians and of the Nestorians in his dominions—namely, that the latter dissented from all the faithful, and followed tenets which all other sects had rejected and damned. He knew also how his father Firúz had given power to

them. All the wives taken away by the followers of Mazdak from their husbands were restored to them. Much property was also restored to the rightful owners, or to their heirs.—G. Rawlinson, in his *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 342, states that Mazdak was, according to some, an Archimagus or High Priest of the Zoroastrian religion: so that the above-quoted opinion of A'mru, that Ḳobád "intended to strengthen the sect of Zoroaster," may perhaps not be as absurd as it seems; it is possible that Mazdak first used Zoroastrianism as a cloak for introducing his new religion, and gaining the favour of the king.

[110] و كان قباذ يكرمه بسبب يوزق اسقف الاهواز لانه شفاه من علة كان به وكان النصاري لاجل ذلك علي سكون و بنيت البيع

[110a] He is also known by the name of Abulfaraj, and wrote, in Arabic as well as in Syriac, works on medicine, philosophy, history, and the Christian religion. Pococke edited and translated his تاريخ مختصر الدول *Historia Compendiosa Dynastiarum*, in 1663 and 1683.

Barsumas, who had tyrannized over the faithful in order to alienate them from the tenets of the Occidental fathers. Wherefore he [Ḳobád] hated them vehemently, but mostly because he had seen their [spiritual] fathers—namely, the Catholicus and the bishops—defiling themselves by wicked marriages, and holding fornication as of no account.[111] At that time, namely, there was an orthodox priest, Simeon by name, in Beth-Arsam, a village near Seleucia, who, when he obtained information about the opinions of king Ḳobád, waited on him, and obtained his mandate to travel all over the country of Sennaar and over the whole of Persia, in order to encourage the orthodox freely to build convents and to rebuff the impetus of the Nestorians. This he did, and wherever he went he obtained signatures from Armenians, Greeks, and Syrians who acknowledged that they differed from the faith of the Nestorians; all these signatures he brought to the king, who confirmed them by affixing his royal seal. These declarations were called the writings of confession, and deposited in the church of Takrit [Myafáreḳyn, Martyropolis], which alone had escaped the corruption of Barsumas."[112] This partiality of Ḳobád towards the so-called orthodox Christians is not borne out by history, inasmuch as, according to Barhebræus himself, who has just been quoted in support of it, Ḳobád did not afford his countenance to Narses, the orthodox successor of Silas, but to his Nestorian son-in-law, Elisæus, who not only overawed his orthodox rival, but threw him into prison, where he died.[113] At last, however, Elisæus himself was ejected by the bishops, —not, however, before the cessation of the schism, during which both

111 As Ḳobád patronized the doctrines of free love promulgated by Mazdak, it is not likely that he would have been greatly shocked at the marriages of priests. But, if we are to believe the *Sháhnámah*, Ḳobad became acquainted with Mazdak only after his restoration to the throne. The great followiug Mazdak had obtained among the poor may be concluded from the fact that he led them during a time of dearth to pillage the granary of the king, with whom his influence was likewise so great that he could at any time gain access to the royal palace and the sovereign, who not only condoned this and other crimes of the impostor, but outwardly even professed to adhere to his doctrines, which he must have detested inwardly. The communism of Mazdak is very well summed up in the following four distichs:—

هەیگفت هرکو توانگر بود تهیدست باو برا بر بود
نباید که باشد کسي بر فزود توانگر بود تا رو درویش بود
جهان راست باید که باشد بچیز فزوني توانگر حرامست نیز
زن و خانه وچیز بخشید نیست تهیدست کس با توانگر یکیست

112 *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pars I., pp. 403 *seq.*

113 *Ibid.*, II. p. 409.

parties respectively ordained their own priests, and which subsisted for fifteen years.[114] Paul, the successor of Elisæus, was also a married man and had children of both sexes; he was originally an adherent of Magism, but is said to have become a Christian after witnessing a miracle. After his baptism he travelled in the Roman provinces, and studied the Greek language under Thomas of Edessa, with whom he went to Constantinople, where both of them refused to subscribe to the censures of the three fathers Dioscorus, Theodorus, and Nestorius. On being made Catholicus he established a school at Seleucia, or perhaps only enlarged it. Being, however, taken to task on account of the people of Gardisapor, who had sided with Nushizád, the son of Nushirván, in his rebellion against his own father, Paul reprimanded them sharply, but was nevertheless afterwards under the necessity of collecting money in order to redeem their church from destruction. He is said to have written tracts against the Magi on ignolatry, in the sixteenth year of his episcopate, A.D. 535, and was buried at Hirah.

After this notice of Paul, the last part of whose life fell into the beginning of the reign of Nushirván, it may be proper to observe that the leniency which his father, Ḳobád, manifested towards the Christians must be limited to the latter part of his reign, when his wars with the Romans (*i.e.* Byzantines) had ceased, as he was during these struggles persecuting Christians not only from religious, but also from political motives, they being professors of a faith different from his own, but the same with that of his foes.[115] The same alternation of peace and persecution of Christians appears to have continued also during

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[114] The text of A'mru, of which the above is the substance, on the schism during the time of Elisæus and Narses, may be seen in *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pars I., p. 167.

[115] A'mru piously attributes the leniency shown by Ḳobád towards Christians during the latter part of his reign to a miracle, saying—

و في هذه الايام فتح قباد الامد وانه سمع شخصا يقول له توقف فانك تفتحها فلما دخلها راى صورت سيدنا في البيعة فقال هذا وهو يقول لي توقف فانني افتحها على يدك فسجد للصورت وكف عن النصارى

"In these days Ḳobád took Amida, for he heard a man saying to him, 'Remain, for thou wilt conquer it.' When he entered the town he saw the picture of our Lord in the church; and he said, 'It is this one who has said to me, 'Remain, for I shall cause thee to conquer it.' Accordingly he worshipped the image, and abstained from persecuting the Christians."

Nushirván's long reign of forty-eight years, which began A.D. 531, and ended A.D. 579. In the thirteenth year of Justinian,[116] Nushirván undertook his first expedition against the Romans, in which he took and destroyed Antioch, but fought also during the next four years with the Romans. He concluded (A.D. 545) a truce with Justinian for five years, and afterwards renewed it. Again (A.D. 556) he restored for five years more the peace which had been interrupted, renewing it again A.D. 561 and keeping it till A.D. 572, when he declared war against the Romans, which he carried on till A.D. 579, when he died. Authors here again differ, according to the sects to which they themselves belonged and which they favoured, whether Nushirván was friendly to the orthodox or to the Nestorian party. Assemani, who wrote in Rome, is of the former opinion, which he supports by a long quotation from Barhebræus in Syriac; but Renaudot is of the latter.[117] A'mru, as may be expected, states that Nushirván, who was addicted to philosophy, professed Manichæism, and preferred it to Zoroastrianism, and loved Christians,[118] by which he of course means his own Nestorian sect. Nushirván associated on the most familiar terms with Abas, *i.e.* Mar-Abas (the prefixed Mar meaning Saint), the Nestorian patriarch, whom he had first ordered to be imprisoned at the instigation of the Magi, but afterwards used as a councillor and helper, chiefly in the expedition against his own son,[119] who had

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116 Justinian began to reign A.D. 527, and Tiberius A.D. 578.

117 Tom. I., *Liturg. Orient.*, p. 360, and tom. II. in the Pref.—*Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pars I., p. 407.

118 نوشيروان كان متفلسفا محبا للنصارى فظهر مذهب مانى وعدل عن مذهب زرادشت وهو الذى بنى الايوان با سفانيره

119 This son of Nushirván was also, according to the *Sháhnámah*, by a Christian wife, who was very beautiful :—

بدين مسيحا بد آن ماهروي زديدار او شهر پرگفتگوى

The rebellious son of Nushirván adhered to the religion of his mother :—

چو دوزخ بدانست و راه بهشت عزيز و مسيح ورا زردهشت
نيامد همى زندواستش درست دوزخ را به آب مسيحا بشست
زدين پدر كيش مادر گرفت زمانه ماندو اندر شگفت
چنان تنگدل گشت ازاوشهريار كه از گل نيامد جز از خاريار
در كاخ فرخندو ايوان اوى ببستند وكردند زندان اوى
نشستنگهش كرد شاه پور بود ازايوان ونزد پدر دور بود

rebelled in the district of Gard-i Shápúr, causing Joseph, who had formerly obliged him by most acceptable services as a medical man, to occupy the post of Marabas; afterwards, however, he again removed Joseph from the episcopate, in order to satisfy the wishes of certain bishops led by Narses the physician of Nisibis. Ezechiel, the successor of Joseph after his death, was the companion of Nushirván in his journey to Nisibis.[120] Now further notice is to be taken of the primates thus briefly adverted to:—

Aba, whom the Nestorians usually call Mar-Aba, *i.e.* St. Aba, had been converted to Christianity from the sect of the Magi, and studied the Syriac language in Nisibis, whence he went also to Edessa. He was ordained A.D. 536, and died at Ḥirah A.D. 552, in the twenty-first year of Nushirván, after occupying the episcopal seat for sixteen years and a few months. The schism which arose during the time of Narses and Elisæus was removed by him, and A'mru adds that he also established canons,[121] and says that "he assembled the fathers, and strictly prohibited any one having a wife from ever becoming a bishop, considering what had ensued under the king of Persia during the time of Barsumas, the metropolitan of Nisibis, and his forcing the fathers to marry."[122] Barhebræus, alluding to a conversation between the king and Aba, says, "The king asked, 'Where in the world does a Catholicus or a bishop cohabit with a woman, as you do, or a priest marry a wife when the first dies, and after her another, as your priests do?' The Catholicus replied, 'As to women, I have no wife, nor ever had one. But my predecessors took to this according to the injunction of

From the last distich it appears that Assemani, as well as G. Rawlinson, who spells Gard-i Shápúr *Gondi-Sapor*, and imitates him (*Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 449), are wrong in their orthography. *Gard* is analogous to the English *garden*, L. *hortus*, and also an affix as in the Persian 'Darabgard' and German 'Stutgart.' The town is in some copies of the *Sháhnámah* also spelt جند شابور but this arabized form is much older than that book, as the *Kitáb-Al-Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, p. ٢٤١), which was written about the middle of the tenth century of our era, shows the form جند يسابور

120 *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. I., p. 406.

121 من بعد جهد و ابطل القبانيه التي ادخلها نرسي واليسع في الجثلقه ورتب القوانين

122 جمع الابا و منع من ان يصير اسقفا او قطركا من كانت له زوجه البتّه منعاً قاطعاً لما كان قد جرى من ملك الفرس في زمان برصوما مطران نصيبين وغصبه الابا على الزوج

the holy apostle who said, "It is better to marry than to be burnt by lust." As to priests marrying several wives, one after another, it is nowhere prohibited.' "[123] The disputation of Nushirván with Aba, described by Barhebræus, in which the former ordered the latter to abjure Nestorianism and to embrace Magism or Christianity, appears to be unworthy of credit. The same author also adds that after Aba's refusal to comply with either of the two propositions, he was from the city of Seleucia exiled to Adarbaiján, whence he returned to his church without the permission of the king, and was thrown into prison, where he died. A'mru also reports that Aba was thrown into prison, but does not mention that he died in it; his words are, "And the king ordered him [*i.e.* Aba] to be fettered with iron, and he suffered punishment for a time; the king also ordered several bishops to be slain and crucified, on account of the dissensions between them and the Romans."[124] About this time also the Armenians appear to have suffered persecution, as Ten-Shápúr, who had (A.D. 548) been appointed Marzbán of Armenia by Nushirván, not only himself greatly persecuted the inhabitants, in order to induce them to abandon the Christian religion, but his successors likewise.[125]

Joseph, being the physician of the king, was elected by his order, A.D. 552, but was deposed three years afterwards, as the influence of Moses—called above Narses—the physician of Nisibis, and of Simeon the bishop of Anbara, who were in favour at court, was made use of to obtain from the king the permission to remove him.[125a] The account of A'mru agrees pretty well with this statement, but according to him St. Simeon, the bishop of Anbara, died in prison, as appears from the following passage which he wrote on the deposition of Joseph:—"The deposed Joseph understood medicine and had learnt it in the country of the Greeks, where he dwelt in a convent and connected himself with a certain Marzbán, so that mention of him was made to Nushirván in a disease which he succeeded in curing after being called; and he also deceived the people by his exterior appearance [of probity]; he was accordingly, after the demise of Mar-Aba,

[123] *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. I., pt. II., p. 412.

[124] فامر الملك شدو بالحديد فمكث مدة معذبا و امر الملك بقتل جماعة من الاسقفة وصلبهم لمخالفة جرت بينهم وبين ملك روم

[125] St. Martin, *Mémoires hist. et géogr. sur l'Arménie*, tom. I., p. 330.

[125a] *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. II., p. 413.

elected patriarch with the permission of Nushirván. He established twenty-two canons during the second year, and governed the church during three. He changed, however, his behaviour, and confiding in the favour of the Marzbán of Kesra, he expelled bishops, tied priests to mangers, vexed them, meditated their ruin, and cast St. Simeon, the bishop of Anbara, into prison. St. Simeon, being for a long time in captivity, constructed an altar in the prison for the purpose of celebrating the liturgy, but Joseph entered the prison and trod the oblation under foot, and the bishop died in prison. He also removed the bishop of the Zabarians in No'mámah from his seat, who, however, being acquainted with medicine and with the Persian language, appealed to the king, by whom he was relieved of his apprehensions, and to whom also Malechus, the bishop of Darabgard, had gone and obtained a diploma of safety ; which, however, so displeased Joseph that he tore it up. When the people of Fárs heard of this [act of disloyalty], they expunged Joseph's name from the sacred books of the church. When, however, his crimes, such as bearing false witness against the faithful, and stealing a precious jewel from the treasury of the king, had augmented, the fathers and the faithful assembled and wrote letters to him, which he despised ; accordingly they appealed to the judgment of the king, to which he refused to submit, on the strength of being the Catholicus. Then the fathers present anathematized him, with the consent of those who were absent, but he took no notice of them, ordained priests, and celebrated the liturgy. The people complained to the king, and Narses of Nisibis proffered the parable that a king had once presented with an elephant a certain poor man, who, however, when he arrived at home, and considered how he might feed the beast, begged the king to excuse him from accepting the present. The king understood this parable, and excused the people for removing Joseph the Catholicus."[125b] The habit of Joseph to tie persons to a manger is

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[125b] يوسف المقدّس كان يفهم الطب و تعلّمه في بلد اليونانيين فاقام بها في دير هناك واتصل بمرزبان كان بها و وصف لا نوشيروان عند علته وحضر وعوفي علي يديه واختدع الناس بطاهره * ولما اسنداح مار ابا عقدت له الفطركة باذن نوشيروان و عمل في السنه الثانية لقعوده اثني و عشرين قانونًا و دبّر الامر ثلث سنين و تغيّر و اعتضد بمرزبان كسري و طرد الا ساقفه و شد القسان علي المعالف فكان بمتهنهم و يعتمد صرفهم و حبس القديس شمعون اسقف الا نبار

also alluded to by Barhebræus (Part 3, *Chron. Syr.*), as follows:— 'When he [Joseph] was invited by some man of the people, he ordered his servants to tie him to a manger, and to place a halter on his head, as if he were an ass."

Ezechiel was elected A.D. 567, after the death of Joseph, till which time the seat appears to have been vacant. Ezechiel was a tall old man when he began to govern the church as patriarch. He was well skilled in secular affairs and learned in the sciences, although he had at first been only the baker of Mar Aba, whose disciple he afterwards became, and who finally appointed him bishop of the Zabarians. When Joseph was ejected from the patriarchate, he was ordained in his place, as he had gained the protection of the king by some services, and enjoyed also the protection of Marzuvy the physician. He reconciled the partizans of Joseph by condoning their faults, and appears to have been liked by the lower clergy, but not the higher, as he refused to grant absolution to Bacchus the metropolitan,— although the latter had greatly praised him in a sermon,—and had only promised to do so; meanwhile, however, Bacchus died. During his time also a terrible plague raged in Persia, which was followed by death, and the country was depopulated. Paulus the Persian flourished about A.D. 570, and was a contemporary of the patriarch Ezechiel,

و مع طول المده اتحف الاسقف لنفسه مذبحا في الحبس ليقدس عليه
فدخل يوسف و داس القربان و مات الاسقف في حبسه و صرف
اسقف الزوابي عن كرسيه يعني اسقف النعمانيه وكان هذا يعرف الطب
و اللغة الفارسية فتوصل الي الملك و خف علي قلبه و قصده مارمالخ
سقف دار بجرد فنجز له كتاب الملك بالاصبانة فصعب ذلك علي يوسف
وخرق الكتاب لما سمع هذا اهل فارس قطعوا خطبه ولما تزايدت
قبايحه منها شهادته علي المومنين بالزور و انه سرق من خزانة الملك
عقدًا جليلًا اجتمع الآبا والمومنين و راسلوه فامتهن رسالتهم فتقدم
الملك المحاكمة فامتنع احتجاجا بانه خاثليق و حرمه الآبا الحاضرون
باجتماع الغايبين ولم يلتفت اليهم وكان يسيم و يقدس و شكوا امره
الي الملك و ضرب نرسي النصيبي للملك في معناه مثلًا بان ملكًا و هب
بعض المساكين فيلًا فلما صار الي داره و فكر في مونته استعفي الملك
منه فعلم الملك ما اراد المثل و اعفاهم من يوسف الجاثليق وكان
مدته خمسة و عشر سنه

in whose life he is mentioned by Barhebræus only;[126] according to him Paulus was erudite both in sacred and in worldly lore; he cultivated also philosophy, and wrote an admirable treatise on dialectics; but desiring to be elected metropolitan of Persia, and not obtaining the suffrages of the people, he went over to the sect of the Magi. Bud Periodevtes, the visiting presbyter among the Persian Christians dwelling on the frontiers of India, was likewise a contemporary of the patriarch Ezechiel about A.D. 570, and is said to have translated the book *Kalilah va Damnah* from Sanskrit into Syriac.[127]

About this time the Christians of Persia appear to have enjoyed full religious liberty, which had been guaranteed to them already some years before, namely A.D. 561, when peace with Justinian had been concluded. "Clauses were inserted in this treaty by which Christians were allowed to build churches, to perform their sacred ceremonies without any fear, to celebrate thanksgivings, and to chant hymns to God, as is customary among ourselves, and not to be forced to be present at Magian ceremonies, or unwillingly to worship the gods considered by the Medes to be gods. On that account, however, Christians were not to make any attempts to draw the followers of Magism to their own opinion. He [namely Petrus, commander of the prætorian cohorts, and ambassador from Justinian to Nushirván] also obtained permission for the Christians to bury their dead in sepulchres, and to perform the funeral rites due to them according to our own usages."[128] Justinian, however, who at home persecuted both the Nestorians and the Monophysites, was naturally anxious that also in Persia Catholics alone should be protected.

It appears that in times of persecution priests and monks assumed the garb of laymen, not only with the approbation but by the command of their superiors, and many were not inclined to change their costume again when the danger ceased. During the time of the patriarch Mar-Aba, says A'mru, "the monk Abraham of Cascara flourished, who was a learned philosopher and ascetic, and during whose time the monastic rules were published in Persia. He established a difference between the garb of monks and heretics; he moreover arranged the establishment of hermitages and cells [under separate roofs], which were formerly [under one roof, like] general monasteries.

126 *Syriac Chron.*, pt. III.

127 *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. I., p. 219.

128 *Ibid.*, p. 409.

He lived for some time in a cave in the district of Hazah, whence he went to Jerusalem, and afterwards met the saints in Egypt. Then he lived thirty years in his first dwelling-place, supporting life on bread and a few vegetables only. Lastly he went to Jurba, namely, the country of the north, to whose inhabitants he preached, and whom he alienated from the worship of idols after suffering great persecution from them, but he guided them by miracles [to Christianity], and refuted them [in their idolatry]. He built a number of churches, and wrote a book on monastic rules. He died in Hazah, but his coffin was stolen in the night, and he was buried in his own town. His disciple Job converted his cave into a hermitage, which is also now known by the name of 'Job's hermitage.' This Job was a native of the town of Ardashir, where his father was a very rich merchant who had built a hospital. One day Job happened to fall sick, and after for some time considering the vanities of this world he made a vow to abandon them; after recovering from his malady he went to Abraham, received the tonsure, and learnt the ordinances of monasticism. He then took up his abode in the hermitage of St. Abraham at Natfara, where he translated the sermons of this Abraham, as well as the rules of St. Abraham of Cascara, from the Syriac into Persian. After the demise of his two associates, Isaias and Elisæus, who had in former times taught him monasticism, other monks gathered around him. He also cured a number of sick persons before his death. When it had been divinely revealed to him that his death was near at hand, he immediately invited the people to his presence, but without informing them of the cause. On Wednesday in the last week of St. Elias [he died], but he had on the preceding Sunday eaten food with the monks after the liturgy, and had, after imparting to them his blessing, retired to his cell. When the people made their appearance on Wednesday, and had waited three hours at the door of his hermitage, they went up to his cell, where they found him wrapped up and prostrated before the cross."[129]

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[129] وفي ايامه كان ابراهيم الكشكرى الراهب وكان فيلسوفا عالمًا زاهدًا في ايامه عرفت قوانين الرهبنة في بلد الفرس و خالف بين زيّ الرهبان و الهراطقة وطكّس الاعمار و القلالى وكانت من قبل كالديارات و اقام في صفارة في بلد دزق مدة و قصد بيت المقدس والقى القديسين

Hormuzd IV., the son and successor of Nushirván, after his death, was, after a reign of more than eleven years, dethroned (A.D. 590) by the Persian generals Behram Chubin and Firúz.[130] The Catholicus, Jesujab I., who succeeded Ezechiel, was elected by order of Hormuzd IV. with the consent of the bishops, A.D. 581, and died, according to A'mru, A.D. 596, which date is, however, controverted.[131] Also the episcopal seat appears to have remained vacant

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بمصر وعاد واقام مكانه الاول ثلثين سنة يقتات الخبز واليسير مع البقل وقصد الجربى يعنى بلد الشمال وتلمذ اهلها وتقلهم من عبادة الاصنام بعد ان لقى منهم العذاب الكبير و بالايات اهادهم وردّهم وبنى عدّة بيع و كتب كتابًا في تدبير الرهبنة ومات بحزة و سرق تابوته ليلًا و دفن فى قريته وجعل ايوب تلميذه مغارته عمرا ويعرف الي الان بعمر ايوب و كان ايوب هذا من اهل مدينه اردشير و كان له اب كثير المال و المتجر و له بيمارستان * ولا اعتل ايوب هذا افكر فى الدنيا فنذر تطليقها فعو فى فقصد ابراهيم وتسفر عنده وعرف طخوس الرهبنه وقصد عمر مار ابراهيم النتفرايى وترجم ميامر مار ابراهيم هذا وقوانين مار ابراهيم الكشكرى من السريانى الى الفارسى واجتمع اليه رهبان بعد موت رفقته اشعيا واليشع الذين علّماه طخوس الرهبنة قديمًا وابرا عدد مرضى قبل موته ولما كشف له من الله ان فاته قد دنت اشعر الناس بالحضور عنده فى الوقت من غيران يعرّفهم الحال وكان يوم الاربعة اخر سابوع مار اليا فى الاحد الذى قبل هذا اكل مع الرهبان بعد الرازين وباركهم ومضى الى قلايته * ولما حضر الناس يوم الاربعة وقفوا على باب كرخه ثلث ساعت و صعدوا الى القلاية فوجدوه ملفوفًا مطروحًا قدام الصليب

[130] According to Firdousí, he was actually blinded, on the plea that he had attempted to take the life of his own son, Khosru Parviz :—

که هرگز مبادا چنین تا جور — که او دست یازد بخون پسر
بگفتار چو شوخ شد لشکرش — همانگه زدند آتش اندر درش
شدند اندر ایوان شاهنشهي — بنزدیک آن شاه با فرهي
چوتاج از سر شاه برداشتند — زتختش نکو نسار برکا شتند
نهادند پس داغ برچشم شاه — شد آن شمع رخشان هم انگه سیاه

[131] *Oriens Christianus*, tom. II., p. 1119.

for a few years after his demise. The notice given by A'mru of this prelate is as follows:—"Jesujab the Arzunite and Catholicus, a native of A'rbáya, was an excellent scholar, who had studied at Nisibis under Abraham the commentator, and was ordained bishop of Arzun. The king, Hormuzd, liked him and honoured him because he informed him by letters of the movements of the Roman army. When Ezechiel died and controversies arose on his and on Job the commentator's explanations, and the affair was referred to the king, he ordered Jesujab to be installed; he also summoned the fathers, who selected Jesujab as their chief, and presented themselves to the king, who treated the fathers honourably, and sent them back to their episcopal residences with distinction, ordering his officials to take their opinions in public affairs, whereby the Magi felt offended. Jesujab published canons and explained the sacraments. At that time Nisibis was the frontier between the countries of Rome and Persia; and during the period of Jesujab numbers of monks appeared each of whom built a convent and established a school."[132]

Khosru Parviz was acclaimed king A.D. 590, and conquered next year the usurper Behrám VI., as well as other Persian rebels, by the aid of the emperor Maurice,[133] and presented the church of St.

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[132] ايشوعيهب الارزني الجاثليق من اهل باعربايا و كان فاضلا و تعلّم بنصيبين على ابراهيم المفسر واسيم استقفا على ارزن و كان هرمز الملك يحبه و يكرمه لانه كان يكاتبه باخبار جيوش الروم * فلما مات حزقيل و وقع التشاجر فى معناه و معنى ايوب المفسر و انتهى الامر الى الملك امر باجلاس ايشوعيهب و حضر الابا و عقدوا له الرياسة و دخلوا كلهم على الملك فاكرمهم وردّ الابا الى كراسيهم بكرامة و تقدم الي عماله باخذ رايهم فى الامور و غلظ ذلك على المجوس * و عمل قوانينا وفسّر الرازين * و كان الحديين مملكتى الروم و الفرس نصيبين و ظهر فى ايامه جماعة من الرهبان و بنى كل منهم عمرا و اقام اسكولا

[133] This aid, as well as a wife, was promised him by a monk prophetically when on his journey to Constantinople, which he, however, did not reach, in spite of Mirkhond's and Tabari's statements to the contrary:—

ز قیصر بیابی سلیح و سپاه یکی دختری از در تاج و گاه

On that occasion, however, Khosru Parviz sent envoys to Constantinople, and the aid asked for was obtained; one of them, however, had a religious contro-

Sergius the martyr, in Seleucia, with a golden cross. In the ensuing year he married Sira, *i.e.* Shirin, a Roman by birth and a Christian by religion; she was beautiful, and he publicly called her his queen, but having no offspring by her he three years afterwards prayed to St. Sergius that she might give birth to a son, which request being granted, the king sent gifts, to which he added also a letter to the holy martyr.[134] A'mru says that Parviz was young and of good behaviour;

versy with the emperor, in which he reproached Christians with being ambitious and shedding blood, in lieu of living up to the meekness inculcated by Christ. The words put by the author of the *Shahnamah* into the mouth of the envoy, which are in perfect conformity with the Gospel, at any rate show that Firdousi must have been well acquainted with at least some portions of that book; they are as follows:—

نبيني كه عيسي مريم چه گفت — بدانكه كه بكشاد راز نهفت
كه پيراهنت گر ستاند كسي — ميا ويز با او به تندى بسي
وگر برزند كف برخسار تو — شود تيره از زخم ديدار تو
ميآور تو خشم و مكن روي زرد — بخوابان تو چشم و مكو هيچ سرد
بكمتر خورش بس كن از خوردني — مجوي ار نباشدت گستردني
ازين سر بدي را يابد نشويد — بي آزار ازين تيركي بگذريد
شمارا هوا برخورد شاه گشت — دل از آز بسيار بيراه گشت
كه ايوانها تان بكيوان رسيد — شتر ميكشد گنجتان را كليد
ابا گنجها نيز چندي سپاه — زره هاي عادي و رومي كلاه
بهر جاي بيداد لشكر كشيد — از آسود گي تيغها بركشيد
همه چشمه گردد بيابان زخون — مسيحا نبود اندرين رهنمون

[134] It may be observed that the lady whom Khosru Parviz married has above been called a Roman and a Christian, but that A'mru calls her also the daughter of Maurice; Pagius, however, observes under the year 628, No. 5, that if she had been the daughter of Maurice [reigned from A.D. 582, Aug. 13, till A.D. 602, Nov. 27], writers such as Evagrius and Theophylactus would certainly have said so. Nevertheless Elmacinus, in the *History of the Saracens*, William of Tyre (bk. i., ch. 7), and Barhebræus all agree with A'mru that she was the daughter of Maurice, in whose Syriac life Barhebræus says, "Khosru asked Maurice to give him his daughter Maria in marriage, and Maurice having agreed the bishop took her away. Khosru built three very large churches, one dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, another to the Apostles, and the third to St. Sergius the martyr, which also George the patriarch of Antioch consecrated. In this manner the Christian religion spread all over the country of Persia." *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. I., p. 412.

The marriage of Khosru Parviz with the daughter of the Roman emperor, whose name is mentioned neither by Firdousi nor by Mirkhond, but occurs simply as Kayçar of Rúm, took place, according to the last-mentioned author, in consequence of a personal visit of Khosru, who, having been defeated by Behrám Chubin in Mesopotamia, is said to have fled to Rúm, where he arrived

Maurice, the Roman emperor, aided him against Behrám, the general

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in safety by the friendly aid of an Arab, who gave him a camel and provisions for the journey. The Persian prince was received in the most amicable manner, and the nuptial knot having been tied between him and Mary the daughter of the Ḳayçar he left the capital of the empire, after a sojourn of eighteen months, taking away his bride, and marching with an army of nearly 100,000 men, which the Ḳayçar gave him, under the command of his own son, Nyáṭus. With these troops Khosru Parviz returned to Persia, defeated Behrám Chubin, established himself firmly on the throne, and sent his auxiliaries again back to Rúm.

Also, according to the *Shahnamah*, Khosru Parviz starts to Rúm, but never arrives there; he is aided by an Arab and also by others in his journey; goes to a Christian monk who tells him his fortune, and sojourns, with his retinue, at a frontier town, which was no other than Circesium, the fort of the Romans, whence he was conducted to the more honourable residence of Hierapolis. Gibbon says (ch. xlvi. *Decline and Fall*) that when Maurice received the letters and ambassadors the grandson of Nushirvan had sent him, he prudently declined the expense and delay of his useless visit to Constantinople, but sent him a diadem with an inestimable gift of jewels and gold. A powerful army was assembled at the frontiers of Armenia and Syria, under the command of the valiant and faithful Narses; and this general of his own nation and his own choice was directed to pass the Tigris, and never to sheath his sword till he had restored Khosru to the throne of his ancestors. Sira or Shirin is alluded to by Gibbon very briefly as a devout Christian and the best beloved of the wives of Khosru, and not as the daughter of Maurice; this, however, Firdousi does, but calls her Mary, who was brought to him with the army alluded to above; her *trousseau* consisted of precious jewels, gold-embroidered clothes, carpets, brocade, in such quantities as to surpass all expectations; of necklaces, of earrings, and three royal diadems encrusted with precious stones. The princess was accompanied by numerous male and female slaves to wait on her; but the army in charge of her, and consisting of 100,000 men commanded by Nyáṭus, brought also a letter written on silk cloth from the Ḳayçar to Khosru, who received it in the just-mentioned frontier town. After cordially embracing Nyáṭus, Khosru approached the canopy of the princess, and on beholding his bride he drew aside the curtain and imprinted a kiss on her hand. Then he removed her to his private apartments, and marched, a few days after this event, with the army against his foe Behrám Chubin, whom he defeated.

Mary had soon an opportunity of showing her conciliatory disposition and good sense, which happened in the following manner:—After Khosru Parviz had gained the just-mentioned victory he sent information to his father-in-law, who in return despatched presents of congratulation, some of them being adorned with the Christian symbol of the cross, with which more especially the dresses were embroidered. After looking at the garments with crosses set in jewels, Khosru Parviz was embarrassed, because he knew that by abstaining from wearing them he might give offence to the Ḳayçar, and that if he did so people would say that he had become a Christian; but the Dastur who was his spiritual adviser set all doubts at rest by assuring his sovereign that religion does not consist in dress, that he was a Zoroastrian, but also a relative of the Ḳayçar. Accordingly Khosru Parviz wore a dress of this kind with a diadem on the occasion of a public reception. When the curtains were lifted up, Greeks and Persians of all classes walked into the hall; the intelligent among them who saw the garments knew that Khosru wished to please the Ḳayçar, whilst others affirmed that he had secretly become a Christian:—

of his father. He married a daughter of Maurice, whose name was Mary; it is also said that her name was Shirin. In his time a priest embraced Magism from love of the world; and the king, who was desirous to ascertain whether he had sincerely done so, requested him to celebrate the sacred liturgy as he had done before. Accordingly a house was set apart for the purpose, and the priest began to officiate; when, however, the moment for the descent of the Holy Ghost had arrived, the king saw the house full of light and of angels, which, when the priest departed, was deprived of all that light. Then the king con-

کسی کش خرد بود و آنجامہ دید بدانست کو رای قیصر گزید
دگر گفت کاینشهر یار جهان همانا که ترسا شد اندر نهان

On another occasion the Persian monarch gave a banquet, and had tables arranged for that purpose, in a rose-garden. He had *put* on the royal diadem, and Nyáṭus with the philosophers sat around the table, when Khosru, dressed in the jewelled Grecian robes, came down from the throne, and walking with a smile to the table took his seat. Also Bandvy, one of his favourite magnates, with the Barsau (or little twig held by Mobeds when *praying*) in his hand, arrived and stood near his sovereign, who muttered the Baj which is as follows:—"Here, in this manner, I worship Ormuzd, by whom the cattle and purity have been created, and by whom the water has been created, and the good vegetation and the light have been created. This lord, in this place, I remember and glorify, and I praise him for this pleasant food which he has given me." When Nyáṭus beheld this scene, he laid aside his bread, and was so amazed that he left the table, saying that the Baj and the cross together was an insult to the Messiah; being after this still more enraged by receiving a slap on the face from Bandvy, he immediately departed to his camp, got his troops ready to assault the royal banquet unless the person of Bandvy were delivered to him, and despatched a message to this effect to Khosru. Mary, as already observed above, showed great intelligence and presence of mind on this occasion, and promised her royal husband so to quell the enmity between Nyáṭus and Bandvy that not a drop of blood would be spilled, if he would only send the latter, under an escort of ten troopers, with her to the Greek army. She obtained Khosru's permission, and in her interview with Nyáṭus made him understand that her husband was so much beloved by her father that he had not only presented him with much treasure, assisted him with troops, and made him his son-in-law, but also agreed that Khosru should not abandon his own religion; finally she threatened Nyáṭus with the Kayçar's displeasure, and ordered him to embrace Bandvy. The persuasive words of the queen were so convincing that Nyáṭus not only obeyed her, but also accompanied her to the presence of Khosru Parviz, to whom he apologized for his rashness, and peace having been made between the two antagonists all parties were satisfied. After a while Khosru sent Nyáṭus and his army back to Rúm with presents and compliments.

After Khosru had reigned five years he became very powerful, and in the sixth, namely A.D. 590, queen Mary bare him a son, to whom he gave two names,—the one, Kobád, he whispered in his ear, and the other, Shiruyeh, he pronounced openly.

بگوش اندرون نام گفتش قباد همی خواند شیروی فرخ نژاد

The astrologers predicted that during the life of this royal scion much turmoil would arise on earth, that his troops would not like him, and that he

sulted Jesujab in this affair, and the latter left it to his option. Accordingly he crucified the priest, but honoured the Christians more. No'mán Ben Mundir, king of the Arabs [of Hirah, but a vassal of Persia], was strongly attached to paganism and worshipped U'zza, which is the planet Venus. [This is a mistake.] When he had been struck by Satan, and the soothsayers could not help him, he was cured by Simeon the bishop of Hirah, Sabarjesu bishop of Lashum, and Jesuzaha the monk: accordingly he became a Christian and was baptized with his two sons, Mundir and Hasan, after him; the last-mentioned, being more zealous as a Christian, never prohibited destitute persons from having access to him when he entered the church. The king of Persia also sent the Catholicus Jesujab to Maurice, the emperor of Rome, with gifts, letters, and various things he had asked for; all the presents were received, and Jesujab met with very honourable treatment. On that occasion the emperor Maurice said, "Since the time of the synod held at Chalcedon correspondence has been interrupted between us, and we do not know whether you still agree with our tenets, or whether you have changed; therefore I desire you to write down your profession of faith, that I may read it, and see what it is." Accordingly he wrote down the exposition of the faith of the Orientals, which the emperor perused and approved of, as well as the patriarch, who was present with him. Accordingly Jesujab was asked to celebrate the liturgy in their church, that they might partake in the communion with him, whilst he in his turn should receive the sacrament consecrated by their patriarch. He did so, but said, "We only reprove one thing in you, namely, that you have excommunicated a man whom it was illicit to anathematize, whereby you have deflected to the wrong side and to a weak faith." Hereupon the emperor said, "If Nestorius adhered to the profession of faith which you have written down, he is not excommunicated, but he is so if he adhered to a different one, and is unworthy to be remembered; you belong to us, and we belong to you." Then Jesujab departed, and died fifteen years afterwards; he was buried at Hirah, in the convent of Hinda, the sister of No'mán.[135]

would apostatize from his religion. He, however, succeded his father A.D. 628, but his whole reign amounted only to eight or nine months.

[135] وتقلد ملك الفرس كسري ابرويز بن هرمز عند خلع الناس لهرمز ابيه * وكان حذث السن جميل الطريقه وعاونه موريقي ملك الروم علي بهرام صاحب جيش ابيه و تزوّج بابنة موريقي واسمها مريم ويقال

Sabarjesus I., who had been raised to the bishopric of Arzuna by his predecessor Jesujab, as has already been observed above, was elected Catholicus by order of Khosru Parviz, who, when the bishops had presented to him the names of five candidates without Sabarjesus being among them, inquired for the reason, and was informed by them that the bishop of Arzuna was sick. The king nevertheless insisted on his election, and stated that he had in a vision been ordered to appoint

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انها كانت تسمي ايضا شيرين * وفي ايامه تمجّس قس لمحبة الدنيا واحبّ الملك ان يعلم هل ذلك منه عن نية و التمس منه ان يقدس كما كان يفعل * فافرد بيتا و قام ليقدس فلما بلغ وقت نزول روح القدس راي كسري البيت مملوأ نورًا و ملايكة * و لما خرج القس تعرّي من جميع ذلك النور * فانفد كسري الي مار ايشوعيهب الجاثليق يشاوره في بابه * فقال الامر اليك فصلبه * و زاد في اكرام النصاري * والنعمان وبن المنذر ملك العرب كان شديد التمسك بدين الحنفا يعبد العزي وهو كوكب الزهرة * فلحقته ضربة من الشيطان ولم ينفعه كهنته شي * فشفاه شمعون اسقف الحيرة و سبر يشوع اسقف لاشوم و ايشوع زحا الراهب فتنصر و اعتمد و ولداه المنذر والحسن بعده * و كان الحسن اشدّهم تمسكا بالنصرانية وكان لايمنع تقدم المساكين اليه اذا دخل البيعة * و انفذه ملك الفرس الي موريقي ملك الروم بهدايا و رسايل و اشيا التمسها * فقبلت منه الهدايا و اكرم ايشوعيهب و عظمت مرتبته * وقال له الملك ان من المجمع الذي كان بقلكيدونية انقطعت بيننا الكتب وبينكم ولسنا ندري مقالتكم ثابتة كما لم تزل او غيّرتم منه شيًا فاريد ان تكتب اليّ مقالتكم لاقراها و انظر كيف هي * فكتب له المقالة المشرقية فلما قراها استصوبها هو و الفطرك الذي كان بحضرته و سالة ان يقدس القربان في بيعتهم ليتقربوا منه ويتقرب هو من القربان الذي يقدسه فطركهم * ففعل ذلك وقال انما نذكر عليكم انكم حرمتم رجلا لايجب تحريمه فانقلبتم الي الخلاف والي الامانة الضعيفة فقال له الملك ان كان نسطور يوس يقول بهذا المقالة التي كتبتها فليس هو محروم و ان كان يقول بغيرها فهو محروم فلا معني لذكره * انتم لنا ونحن لكم و انصرف على هذا * توفي بعد خمسة عشر سنة ودفن بالحيرة في دير هند اخت النعمان

him; he also kept him for some time near his person, whilst Milas the bishop of Else administered the diocese as his vicar. When the emperor Maurice heard of the fame of the Catholicus he sent a painter to take his portrait, which being done with the permission of Khosru, Maurice despatched to the latter in return a little piece of the true cross on which Christ had been crucified.[136]

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136 During the reign of Khosru Parviz the Persians took Jerusalem with dreadful slaughter (A.D. 614) from the emperor Phocas, when they carried off also the true cross. According to Mirkhond this happened after the Greeks had slain the Kayçar together with his son Nyátus. We nevertheless find in the *Shahnamah* this same Kayçar asking for the restoration of the cross; but Khosru, to whom a special embassy with rich presents had been sent for that purpose, refuses to comply, and sends a message that it is not worth while making much ado about the cross of Jesus, which had been placed by king Ardashir in the treasury; that everybody would laugh at his sending a piece of wood from Erán to Rûm; that the Mobeds would say he had become a Christian and a bishop for the sake of Mary; but that the emperor might ask for anything else he liked :—

همان دار عیسي نیرزید رنج — که شاه ارد شیر آن نهاده بگنج
از ایران چو چوبي فرستم بروم — بخندند برما همه مرز و بوم
زمویه کمان بد که ترسا شدم — گر از بهر مریم سکوبا شدم
دگر ارزو هرچه باید بخواه — شمارا سوي ماکشاده است راه

As the queen, and daughter of Maurice, is in these verses called Mary, it would appear that Khosru had at that time nor yet transferred his affection to Shirin, who became afterwards his favourite wife, and was also a Christian, The cross is afterwards again alluded to twice; the first time by Shiruyeh in his reproachful address to his own father Khosru after dethroning him. He blames him for not restoring the cross to Maurice, although he had aided him with troops, treasures, and the gift of his own daughter for a wife :—

سپه داد و دختر ترا داد نیز — همان گنج و با گنج بسیار چیز
همیخواست دار مسیحا بروم — بدان تا شود تازه آن مرز بوم
بگنج تو از دار عیسي چه سود — که قیصر بخوبي زتو شاد بود

The cross is mentioned the second time as an old piece of wood, from which Khosru says, in his reply to the above-mentioned address, that he had no gain nor loss, but which had been thrown into the treasury, and which Shiruyeh must have heard mentioned by Christians :—

زدار مسیحا که گفتي سخن — بگنج اندر افکنده چوبي کهن
ندید زآن مرا هیچ سود و زیان — زترسا شنیدي تو آواز آن

Contrary to Firdousi, Mirkhond makes no mention whatever of Mary the Christian queen of Khosru Parviz, although something is said about Shirin, who is considered to have been the early love of this prince :—He got acquainted with her in the mansion of a Persian noble, who, on becoming aware of the intrigue, sent her to be drowned in the Euphrates, but her guard who had been ordered to execute the foul deed, being moved by her beauty and prayers,

When Khosru marched (A.D. 603) against Phocas to avenge the

replied that he was bound to obey orders, but that he would throw her into the water at a spot where she could easily get out. Accordingly the life of the girl was saved, and she took refuge with a holy monk in the desert, whom she faithfully served for several years, until Khosru, who had now become powerful, had on a hunting expedition come into the vicinity of the hermitage, where Shirin gave a ring to one of the king's retinue, and requested him to inform Khosru Parviz that his faithful maiden had sent it. The monarch, in whose bosom the flame of early affection was still burning, was glad to recover the lady and married her.

Also according to the *Shahnamah* Khosru had fallen early in love with Shirin, but, being constantly in trouble and at war with Behrám Chubin, he had soon lost sight of her. Some years afterwards, however, after his union with Mary and after the birth of Shiruyeh, when he was in the chase she contrived to meet him and to remind him of their former acquaintance. The lady was most bewitchingly attired, and addressed him in so loving a manner that he had her immediately sent to his private apartments. This act so shocked the nobles of Madayn that they abstained from paying their respects at the court. Some time afterwards, however, a Mobed arrived and made a long speech, which must have been very distasteful to Khosru Parviz, who accordingly vouchsafed no reply to it. The next day after this visit, a number of nobles and Mobeds made their appearance after holding a long consultation on the subject, waited on the king, and deposited a platter full of blood before him. Khosru, amazed at this sight, asked what the contents of the vessel were intended for. A Mobed, however, only replied, "This is impure blood, wherewith every one is disgusted." Hereupon the king had the platter removed, emptied, cleansed, and perfumed with musk and rose-water. When it was brought back it shone brightly like the sun, and was filled with wine. Then the king said to the Mobed, "Behold how the vessel is changed now!" The latter answered, "Good has resulted from evil," and the monarch continued, "Shirin was in the town, like this ill-omened vessel, full of venom. Being, however, now in my keeping, she has been perfumed by contact with me, just as she had at first obtained a bad name through me." These words were warmly applauded by all the magnates present, who expressed their satisfaction, and departed with congratulations, rejoicing in the power of their king.

Although the power of Shirin was now firmly established, she aspired to the highest place in the estimation of Khosru Parviz, and being extremely jealous of Mary, in whose apartments he spent the greater portion of his time, as well as of her supremacy as first lady of the royal household, she secretly poisoned her. The evil machinations of Shirin very likely influenced Khosru also with reference to his son Shiruyeh, who, although he had attained man's estate, was not only kept under perpetual surveillance like a child, but was closely confined in the palace; he was, however, allowed all kinds of amusements,—probably because Shirin, who had now taken the place of Mary as chief queen, feared that if the son of her late rival were allowed full liberty, he might overthrow her power. Many romances exist in which the loves of Shirin and Khosru are sung; all, however, are legendary, and contradict each other in many points. Sir W. Jones believed this lady, whom he renamed "Irene," to have actually been the daughter of Maurice, whilst the author of the *Nasekh-al-towarikh* states that the name of this daughter of the Byzantine emperor, and queen of Khosru Parviz, was Mary, although there Shirin is also called a Rúmi, *i.e.* Byzantine, and the account given of her in the work is substantially the same with the one here adopted.

murder of his father-in-law Maurice,[137] he was accompanied by Sabarjesus, who died during the expedition.[138] In that war Khosru Parviz not only reconquered the provinces he had ceded to the Greeks, but took Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, marched as far as Constantinople, and ravaged portions of the eastern empire for twenty years, until he was vanquished by Heraclius, the successor of Phocas. When Khosru Parviz was defeated A.D. 624 he become so incensed that he ordered the gifts and furniture of all the Persian churches to be confiscated, and compelled all the Christians to embrace Nestorianism. The conquests of Khosru Parviz were so rapid that he threatened to take Constantinople, within a mile of which, namely at Chalcedon, the Persians established themselves A.D. 617, after having within the space of fifteen years wrested from the Romans (*i.e.* Byzantines) all their possessions in Asia and Eastern Africa. The empire of Persia was extended from the Tigris and Euphrates to the Ægæan and the Nile,

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The bodily and mental charms of Shirin must have been extraordinary, perhaps like those of the celebrated Ninon de l'Enclos; because if we are to believe Firdousi, Shiruyeh had, after consenting to deprive his own father of life at the instigation of his advisers, being deeply insulted and called a vile parricide by Shirin, nevertheless insisted on marrying her; she must also have been tolerably advanced in years, as she boasted that she had for a long time been "the lady" of Erán, and had aided valiant men in every affair:—

بسی سال بانوي ایران بدم بهر کار پشت دلیران بدم

She also states that she had married Khosru when he came back in distress from his Roman journey; and her assertion that a fraud unheard of in the world had been perpetrated may perhaps be an allusion to Khosru's marriage with Mary for political reasons. She nevertheless boasts of having had four children by him,—Nestor, Sheheryár, Ferud, and Merdánsháh—all of whom were however, dead. When she threw off her veil after the above-mentioned insulting speech to Shiruyeh, not only were the nobles surprised, but he himself was so dazzled by her wonderful beauty, that he told her his life belonged already to her, and that he would grant her everything else she might desire:—

بدو گفت شیروی جانم ترا ست دگر آرزو بهر چه خواهی ترا ست

He was, however, not allowed to enjoy even life; because soon after Shirin had taken poison and expired he was likewise poisoned. According to A'mru, however, as will be shown further on, Shirin survived him, but poisoned his successor, Ardeshir III.

[137] *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. II., p. 415.

[138] Among the large number of miracles which the credulity of A'mru ascribes to Sabarjesus, the following is one, from which it appears that others besides Hindus drank water in which Gurús wash themselves:—"A Magian woman asked him [*i.e.* Sabarjesus] to pray to God to grant her a child. Accordingly he washed his hands, and she drank it [the water]. She gave birth to male twins; whereon she and her family believed [embraced Christianity]."

attaining once more almost the same dimensions that it had reached under the first, and had kept until the third Darius.[138a]

Gregorius, a native of Cascara, had been elected Catholicus, after the demise of Sabarjesus I., by general consent, A.D. 605, although Bar-Halbesaha had been designated as his successor by Sabarjesus, whilst others desired Gregorius of Nisibis to become the metropolitan; the will, however, of Shirin the queen of Khosru prevailed, and the first-named Gregorius, whose election she favoured, obtained all the suffrages; when, however, he arrived to pay homage to the king, the latter told him that he was the wrong man. Those who accompanied the Catholicus pleaded the command of the queen, which, they alleged, could not have been issued without the consent of the sovereign, the more so as the said Gregorius appeared also to be the abler man of the two, so that Khosru Parviz was obliged to consent to the appointment, but afterwards became acquainted with the true character of the new Catholicus, to the badness of which even 'A'mru bears witness when he says :—"The king liked him and was pleased with his fine conversation; on inquiry he found, however, that his internal did not correspond to his external character. Accordingly he blamed Shirin for what she had done. The Catholicus was bent on accumulating money, and the joy of the Christians concerning him was changed to grief. The physicians also conveyed blame [to the king] concerning him. After the taking of Dárá the king had obtained many books from it, which he compelled him to buy for twenty staters of silver, and which were paid by his collecting the same among the churches. This Catholicus died and was buried at Al-Madayn; the king confiscated whatever he left, captured his disciples, and imprisoned them until they disgorged his wealth. After that, the king's disposition towards Christians changed, and in lieu of doing good to them he persecuted them, increased the taxes, and commanded that the Christians should henceforth elect no Catholicus as their head."[139]

138a G. Rawlinson, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 506.

139 فسّر به كسرى واعجبه حسن صوته ولما بحث عنه وجد باطنه يخالف ظاهره * فوبّخ شيرين على فعلها والجاثليق مال الى جمع الدراهم وانتقل فرح النصارى به الى الحزن وواصل الطب الطعن عليه وكان كسرى اخذ من دارا كتباً كثيرة فطرحها عليه وطالبه عنها بعشرين استار

Nothing is on record about Gregorius of Cascara personally except his desire of accumulating money, alluded to in the preceding passage of A'mru, but his clergy brought disgrace upon him by their wicked lives,[139a] and he assembled a council to check their irregularities, although the proceedings commenced by a solemn vindication of the character of Barsumas, who had always been obnoxious to the so-called orthodox party. The words of the Synodicum[140] are as follows:—" The synod of Gregorius the Catholicus confirmed by its authority the correctness of the Great Confession of Faith, as well as the correctness of its explanation by the great commentator. It ordered Barsumas, the metropolitan of Nisibis, to be duly commemorated, exculpated him and his writings from the aspersions of antagonists, and anathematized all who should refuse to do the same. In this synod the restraining was decreed of priests who belong to no known church or monastery, obey no superiors and do not dwell in schools, but live singly and roam about houses; as well as of sisters who have no husbands, but roam about houses and corrupt morals, and of lazy monks who rent buildings in the midst of villages by the side of cities and convents, and corrupt men. Accordingly the synod decreed that priests and deacons belonging to no known church, and every woman having no husband nor living in a convent, or a brother with whom sisters are wandering about, or sisters wandering about with brothers, or a monk inhabiting a solitary house in a village or by the side of the city, are all excommunicated; moreover, that a bishop taking no notice of such persons be reproved by all. It being reported to the synod that certain monks living in convents omitted, on account of their perverse opinions, certain portions of their life-inspiring prayers, they were excommunicated. It being also reported to the synod that certain persons having built churches and convents, set aside for their maintenance a portion of their property, and entrusted by their last wills some relatives with the

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فضة وجمع ذلك من البيع ومات الجاثليق ودفن بالمدائن واخذ كسرى ماخلفه وقبض على تلاميذه وحبسهم الى ان اظهروا ماله وتغيّر رايه في النصارى وعدل عن الاحسان اليهم واخذ في الاساءة الي الناس و اضعاف الخراج و امر الا يروس النصاري عليهم جاثليقا

[139a] Passim monachi cum mulieribus cohabitabant, quas et legitimas suas uxores appellare haud verebantur: *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. I., p. 93.

[140] *Ibid.*, p. 452.

administration thereof, but that these had swallowed it after their demise, the synod decreed such writings to be kept by the bishop, and the revenues and expenses of such property to be regulated by him."[141]

As has been observed above, the Christians were ordered to elect no Catholicus after the demise of Gregorius; accordingly his seat remained vacant till the death of Khosru, and the Church was governed by Mar-Aba the archdeacon till the accession of Shiruyeh, who is by some also called Kobád II., and began to reign on the 24th February A.D. 628, during which year also a treaty of peace was concluded with the Romans on the condition that Shiruyeh was to restore all the places his father had taken from them; wherefore Heraclius sent his own brother Theodore in company of the Persian delegates, who were peacefully to take back all the Persian subjects dwelling in Edessa, Jerusalem, and in the other Roman cities of Palestine to their own country. It is remarkable that among the just-mentioned Persian delegates also Jesujab II. of Gadala, who had (A.D. 626) been—probably

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[141] سنهودس غريغور الجاثليق عقدت رايها على صحة الامانة الكبيرة وعلى صحة تفسير المفسّر الكبير واجرت ذكر برصوما مطران نصيبين وزكنه وكتبه لاجل ما كان فيه للمخالفون وحرمت من لا يفعل ذلك * وقرر فى هذه السنهودس ضمان الكهنة الذين ليس لهم بيعة ودير معروف ولا يطاعون للمدبرين ولا يكونون فى الا سكول لكن يسكنون مفردين ويطوفون البيوت * واخوات لا رجل لهم يطوفون البيوت ويفسدون * وقوم من كسالى الرهبان يبتاعون اكراحا فى اوساط القرى وعلى جوانب المدن والديارات ويفسدون الناس * فاجتمعت السنهودس ان القس والشماس الذى ليس له بيعة معروفة وكل امراة لا رجل لها ولا تكون في الدير او اخ يطوف معه اخوات او اخوات يطفن مع اخوة اوراهب يجلس فى كرح واحد فى القرية او على جانب المدينة كلهم محرمون * والا سقف الذى يغفل عنهم يوبّخه الكل * وقيل فى الجمع ان قوماً من سكان الديارات لفساد رايهم يسقطون من الصلوات المحييه * وهولا محرمون * وقيل فى الجمع ان قوماً بنوا بيعاً وديارات وافرد لها شيّا ووصوّا اقاربهم بالمراعاة لها فاكلوها من بعد هم * قطع الجمع بان كتب هذه تكون عند الا سقف وتدبيره يتم دخلها وخرجها

in secret—ordained the successor of Gregorius of Cascara, is mentioned as afterwards presenting himself with his companions, the bishops of Nisibis, of Beth Seleucia, of Garmæa, and of Nineveh, at the court of Constantinople, and abjuring Nestorianism, but again making profession of it on his return to Persia. When Theodore returned from Edessa, where he had restored a church occupied during the time of Khosru Parviz by the Nestorians to the orthodox party, and arrived in Hierapolis, he obtained the information that Shiruyeh had not lived to reign even for one year, but had died in November 628. Concerning Jesujab II., and his above-mentioned recantation of Nestorianism, Barhebræus says :—" This Catholicus did his best to promote the advancement of learning, and to restore the destroyed schools. He also ordained pious bishops, and was a legate from the king of Persia to the Roman emperor; but on being interrogated about the faith, he pretended to follow the religion of the Greeks and was accepted. When the people subject to him heard this, they were offended, and on account of his change of faith expunged his name from the canon, but again received him and proclaimed his name when he afterwards apologized and stated that he had by no means agreed with the Greeks, but had, on account of the aid afforded him by the emperor, been unable to contradict him."

About this time Muḥammad began to propagate Islám with all his might, and is by Barhebræus stated to have received a visit from the patriarch Jesujab in company with Sa'yd, the chief of the Christians of Najrán, who brought him enormous gifts, with the intention of establishing a treaty between the Christians and the Arabs. Muḥammad agreed and gave them a diploma, in which he recommended to the Arabs to protect Christians, and neither to attack them nor to force them to change their religion. He altogether prohibited the raising of tribute from priests and monks, and allowed only four coins to be taken from the poor, but twelve from the rich. He moreover gave permission to Christians to repair their churches, and desired the Arabs to aid them in the work. Lastly, Christian men and women might serve in Arab houses without any detriment to their religion. [141a] A'mru does not allude to an actual

[141a] This document, in which Muḥammad grants security to the Christians, was first published by Gabriel Sionita in Paris, in 1630, in Arabic and Latin; by Joannes Fabricius, in 1638, in Latin only; and lastly by Hinkelmann, in 1690, in Hamburg. The first copy of this diploma was brought to Europe by Pacificus Scaliger, who had obtained it from Arab Capuchin monks. Grotius believed the document to be spurious, and Salmasius genuine. Mosheim alludes to it

visit by the patriarch, but agrees in other respects well enough with Barhebræus :—"Then Islám made its appearance, and this patriarch [Jesujab] wrote letters to the lord of the law of Islám, sent him presents, and asked him to protect his flock dwelling there, and he agreed thereto. Then Jesùjab wrote numerous excellent letters to his companions, and the lord of the law presented him with gifts, among which there were a number of camels and A'den garments. This was brought to the notice of the king of Persia, who manifested his displeasure at the patriarch's doings and correspondence, but especially when the presents arrived. Accordingly Jesujab excused himself till he was delivered from his anger, and lived till the time of O'mar Ben Alkhetáb, who wrote him a powerful letter of protection, promising that no tax should be taken from his brother's servants and partizans likewise; and the letter is preserved to this day."[142]

Ardashir III. succeeded his father Shiruyeh, but reigned only about one year, till the end of A.D. 629, and A'mru says concerning him, "In his [Jesujab's] days Ardashir assumed the government after his father Shiruyeh, and it is said that Shirin brought on his death by poison, because he had slain her son Merdánsháh."[143]

It has been observed above how Jesujab II. thought proper to treat with Muḥammad to save the Christians from persecution; and,

in his *Ecclesiastical History*, gives no opinion of his own, but states that Renaudot believed it to be genuine. He appears to have taken the whole account of it except the last-mentioned remark from Assemani, tom. III., pt. II., p. xcv.; although if not himself, at least his English translator, omits to mention Assemani as his source.

[142] ثم ظهر الاسلام فكان هذا الفطرك يكاتب صاحب شريعة الاسلام ويهدي له ويساله الوصاة برعيته في نواحيه فاجابه الى ذلك وكتب لاصحابه كتباً بليغة مؤكدة وبرة صاحب الشريعة بمر كان فيه عدد من الابل وثياب عدنيه * تادى ذلك الى ملك الفرس فانكر علي الفطرك فعله ومكاتبته وخاصة عند ورود هداياه * فداراه الى ان سلم منه وعاش الى ايام عمر بن الخطاب فكتب له كتابا موكدا بالحفظ والحياطة وان لا توخذ اخوانه وخدمه الجزيه واشياعه ايضا * وهذا الكتاب محتفظ الي هذه الغاية

[143] وفي ايامه تقلد اردشير مكان ابيه شيرويه ويقال ان شيرين احتالت في قتله بالسم لقتله ابنها مردانشاه

as the power of the Moslems grew very rapidly, the Christian prelates naturally sought to propitiate the Arab chiefs, especially after they had invaded Persia; and a curious instance of how peace was granted to the people of Ḥirah by the Arab general Kháled, through the intervention of the monks, is on record.[144] The calamities which overwhelmed Persia at this time induced a corresponding confusion about the Christian prelates, concerning whom contemporary authors speak very briefly and also disagree;[145] as, owing to the quick succession after Ardeshir III. of Sarbaraz, *i.e.* Sheheryár, of Purándukht, of Chahinendah, of Arzemidukht, of Kesra II., of Ferakhzad, and of Yazdegird IV., within the brief period of a couple of years, the sovereigns had probably no chance to interfere much with the Christian Church either for good or for evil, and the election of the Catholicus of Persia, usually confirmed and sometimes even ordered by the king, was dispensed with. Yazdegird IV., although he lived twenty years after ascending the throne, had during the greater portion of that time no fixed residence; and, as he gradually moved to the interior, his connection with the Arab Christians tributary to Persia, the warlike tribes

[144] See my "Moslem Conquest of Persia," *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. XI., pp. 155 *et seq.*

[145] As an example of these discrepancies it may here be observed that A'mru (*Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pars I., p. 105) not only causes Purándukht immediately to succeed Ardashir, but states that the above-mentioned Jesujab II. had been sent by her to the Roman emperor, who not only received him kindly, but had the sacrament of the Eucharist administered by this Catholicus to himself and to his patricians in Aleppo, which may be true on the supposition that this was another mission of the prelate, who is said to have lived down to the khalifate of O'mar. It may be observed that a statement, likewise of A'mru, has been given above, according to which the namesake of this patriarch, namely Jesujab I., was during the reign of Khosru Parviz sent to Maurice, and there likewise administered, as well as received, the Sacrament. It is, however, worth while to give A'mru's own words in this case also :—

ثم قتل اردشير و جلست بوران بنت كسري في الامر لانه لم يبق من نسل الملك غيرها * وسرّ الناس بها و ضربت الدنانير و انفذت ايشوعيهب الجاثليق برسالتها الي ملك الروم وصادفه بحلب وادّى الرسالة وقبلت الهدايه * كثر تعجّب ملك الروم من تقلد امراة و فرح بالجاثليق و سرّ بعلمه وما اوضحه من الامانة وشفعه فيما قصد من قضا حوايجه وسال ان يقدّس القربان ليتقرّب من يده * ففعل وسلّم اليه نسخه الامانة وتقرب وجماعة بطارقته من يده *

Beni Bekr and I'jl, who were loyal and desirous to aid his troops,[146] was not only severed quickly, but the Moslem conquerors also soon converted the majority of them to their own religion.

As the capital, Madayn (*i.e.* Ctesiphon and Seleucia), had already fallen into the hands of the Moslems in the month of Çafar A.H. 16 (March 637), the prelates of the Church, being apprehensive of danger, removed the seat of the Catholicus to Takrit (Martyropolis), and the first who dwelt there was Maruthas, the successor of Jesujab II., but he surrendered the fort and town to the invaders as soon as they presented themselves at the gates, because he feared that the people might be injured. From that time, says Assemani,[147] the number of Jacobites increased wonderfully in Persia; also many Edessans who had been brought captives to that province fixed their domicile in Sejestán and Khorásán. Maruthas appointed two bishops to govern the churches, and died A.D. 649. Contemporaneously with the just-noticed prelate, also Mareme is said to have been the immediate successor of Jesujab II. He was first bishop of Nineveh, then metropolitan of Gardisháp̀úr, and was lastly promoted to the dignity of Catholicus, which he enjoyed for three years, and he is said to have died during the khalifate of O'thmán. The next Maphrianus, *i.e.* Catholicus, was Jesujab III., who ingratiated himself with the Muhammadans, and received from them letters patent with seals affixed, whereby all the monasteries and churches subject to him were guaranteed from injury. He made a journey into the interior of Persia in order to call the metropolitan of that country to order. About Denha nothing worth mentioning is on record; and Georgius, who succeeded him, is said to have been ordained patriarch A.D. 661. When he visited his diocese, and travelled to the Christian towns, villages, and convents, it was reported to the Amir of the Arabs, whose name is not given, that he had during that journey collected an immense sum of gold, but he preferred to suffer imprisonment and torture rather than to surrender the sacred money to the Amir; wherefore, says Barhebræus, the Amir became so indignant that he razed several churches to the ground.

With the increase of the Muhammadan power the number of Christians diminished very rapidly everywhere in Persia and its dependencies, such as Hirah, Najrán, and Yemen in Arabia. Whenever Christians refused to embrace Islám they were burdened with the capitation tax;

146 See "Moslem Conquest of Persia," p. 153.

147 *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. II., p. 420.

but Yazid, although he reigned only about four years (A.D. 720, Feb. 9, till A D. 724, Jan. 25), appears to have been the first Khalif who systematically vexed Christians by establishing that in law the testimony of a Christian against a Muhammadan should not be considered valid, by ordering not only images, but also animals, such as dogs, pigeons, cocks, &c., to be destroyed if they were of white colour, and by various other harassing ordinances.[148]

The above-mentioned Jesujab III. was so shocked at the diminution of Christians in Khorásán, who, to escape the loss of some of their property, had embraced Islám, that he wrote a long letter to Simeon, the metropolitan of Ravarshir, on the subject. Its beginning is as follows:— "Where are thy sons, O father bereaved of sons? Where is the great multitude of Mervites [people of Merv, in Khorásán] which have, without being afflicted by the sword, or by fire, or by tortures, but captivated only by its love for worldly goods, rushed as mad into the abyss of perfidy, namely to eternal perdition; being reduced almost to nothing, as only two priests have, like brands snatched from the flames, escaped from the fire of impiety? Alas! out of so many thousands who were called Christians, not one has by shedding his blood consecrated himself to God for the sake of the true faith. Where are the sanctuaries of Kermán, and of the whole of Persia?..... You Persians, who excel other men in virtue and intellect, appear to us to be so placed as not to stand in need of the aid of the Church of God, or of the aid of God himself; but in this destruction of your churches you have been so humble, so meek, so gentle, that you have moved neither your hands, nor exerted the powers of your bodies, against the destroyers of your temples, nor shown the strength of your faith against its persecutors. Nor have you, like men who trust in the Church of God and in the prayers of the saints, turned to that Church, in order to inform it of your calamity, and to implore the aid of prayers from the saints of our God. ..... You might clearly understand that the cause of the weakness of your faith in this season of your temptation flows from the very fountain of Christianity itself. The fountain, namely, of Christianity is sacerdotal virtue; but sacerdotal virtue is induced by the canonical and legitimate imposition of hands. If, namely, the imposition of hands takes place illegitimately, sacerdotal virtue will therewith by no means flow by transmission from above downwards, as it has been derived from above

[148] "Chronicle of the patriarch Dionysius," *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. II., p. 105.

upon the Apostles, and from them upon their successors down to the end of the world ..... For the very same man who has seduced you and overthrown your churches first made his appearance among us in the district of Radan, where the number of pagans exceeds that of Christians; nevertheless, on account of the glorious works of the followers of Christ, not even the pagans have been seduced by him; and being repelled with disgrace he has not only been unable to ruin churches, but has been ruined himself; he was, however, received in your own country of Persia by the pagans, as well as by the Christians of it, who obeyed his behests with the consent of the pagans, the Christians remaining silent, and not attempting anything against him. These Tayyis [*i.e.* Arabs], on whom God has at this season bestowed dominion over the earth, are, as you must be aware, at present among us; they, however, do not attack the Christian religion, but rather commend our faith, honour the priests and saints of the Lord, and grant benefits to churches and convents. Why, then, have you Mervites abandoned the faith for their sake? The more so since the Tayyis, as the Mervites themselves state, have not compelled them to desert their faith, but, in order to keep it safe and intact, to surrender only one-half of their property. They, however, abandoning the faith which profiteth for ever, have, captivated by love for this perishable world, retained their property."[149]

As to the Arab populations of Ġh'assán, Yemen, and Ḥirah, which were under Persian vassalage for some centuries, the seeds of Christianity had been sown in them at a very early period. Already the apostle Paul had visited Arabia for the purpose of preaching the Gospel.[150] And several others are said to have gone there, but the precise localities where they carried on their labours are not mentioned, although it is certain that the earliest bishopric was that of Boçra, and the next of Petra, which was at first subject to the former. Not only did bishops from Arabia attend the Antiochian and Nicæan council, but they held several in their own country, the first of which assembled A.D. 229, and the second A.D. 247. The signature of an Arab bishop occurs in the documents of the council of Ephesus, A.D. 449, and of Chalcedon, A.D. 451.[151] The parts of Arabia contiguous to Mesopotamia, Chaldæa, and the Persian Gulf

149 *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. I., pp. 130 *et seq.*

150 Galatians i. 17.

151 *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. II., pp. dxcvii. *et seq.*

had already before A.D. 320 been converted to Christianity, partly by the efforts of the bishops of Edessa and Seleucia, and partly by the labours of the monks who preached in those regions.

Not much can be said about the Ġh'assánians, but the author of the *Náṡekh-al-Towárikh* asserts that already their king Salykh, a contemporary of Tiberius, was a Christian. Afterwards, when the Sasanian dynasty began to reign in Persia, they alternately cultivated the friendship of the Romans, and transferred their allegiance to the Persians, which was not difficult, as their nomadic habits enabled them to avoid close contact with their foes when they were at a disadvantage. This fickleness was particularly shown by Jabalah, who abandoned the Romans and sided with Shápúr II. when he perceived that fidelity to the Persian sovereign would be more advantageous; his successor, No'mán Ben Ayham, acted in the same manner, as well as at a later period No'mán B. Ḥáreth, a contemporary and tributary of Yazdegird III. Shorahyl was the last Ġh'assánian king, and tributary to Khosru Parviz.

Also in southern Arabia, *i.e.* Yemen, Christianity was introduced very early by the apostle Bartholomew, especially among the civilized, settled, and mercantile population, to which also Pantæus, who had come from Alexandria, preached the Gospel for some time, towards the end of the second century. The monk Theophilus, who had been sent to the Hemyarite Christians of Yemen by Constantius, A.D. 354 or 356, partly for the purpose of attaching them to the interests of the Roman emperor, and to build churches for the Roman merchants trading in those parts, as well as for the people who might be converted to Christianity, was an Arian heretic, and chiefly laboured to draw the Christians over to his own sect; he built, however, several churches, and Christianity flourished so much that it attracted the violent enmity of Ḏu Nuwás, who reigned from A.D. 490 till 525, and was a very zealous Jew. He became so exasperated, especially against the people of Najrán, that he slew many thousands of them because they refused to embrace Judaism.[152] In a Syriac letter of St. Simeon, bishop of Beth-Arsam, written A.D. 524 by him on his return from Ḥirah with the priests who had been sent by the emperor Justin to the court of Munḏir for the purpose of concluding a treaty of peace, the treatment experienced by the Christians of Najrán at the hands of Ḏu Nuwás is alluded to by the introduction of the following

[152] See *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. XII., p. 199 :— "Some beliefs," &c.

despatch from the latter to Mundir, king of Hirah :—"Be aware, O brother king Mundir, that the king appointed by the Ethiopians [Abyssinians] over our country having died, and they being, on account of the approach of winter, unable to come again, and to establish a Christian king, I have occupied the entire Hemyaritic kingdom. First I caught all the Christians, and threatened them with death, unless they would become Jews like ourselves. I slew 280 priests, as well as the Ethiopians who guarded the church, which I converted into a synagogue. Then I moved my camp with 120,000 men to Najrán their capital, which, when I had in vain besieged for several days, I made an oath to the people, but with the mental reservation not to keep it, that I would not kill them; accordingly they surrendered the city, and I ordered them to bring forward their gold, silver, and all their property. Then I asked about their bishop Paul, and when they said that he had died I believed them not until they showed me his tomb, whence I took his bones and burnt them. I also burnt their church with the priests, and all who had taken refuge in it, forcing the others to abjure Christianity, which they refused to do, and preferred death to life."[153] This letter terminated with a request to Mundir not to allow any Christians to live in his country unless they consented to exchange their religion for his.[154] No further notice appears to have been taken by Mundir of this letter, except the reading of it in public, when a soldier of his army, many of whom appear to have been Christians, exclaimed, "O king! we have not been made Christians in your time to be compelled to abjure Christ now." This boldness was, however, not punished, and some state that Mundir himself became a Christian; if such was the case, his conversion must have taken place at a later period.[155]

There appear to have been at least four bishoprics in Yemen, namely Ẓafar, A'den, Najrán, and a town on the Persian Gulf. The

[153] *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. I., pp. 364 *et seq.*

[154] According to the *Násekh-al-Towárikh*, Kobád II. removed Mundir from the throne for refusing to embrace the religion of Mazdak, but Nushirván restored him.

[155] It does not appear clear what religion Mundir followed, but Assemani (*Bibl. Or.*, tom. III., pt. II., p. dci.) asserts that he was a pagan :—"Ethnicum autem fuisse constat tum ex Procopio, tum ex iis que Betharsanensis testis vivus et præsens narrat." According to Hammer-Purgstall, p. 76, tom. I., *Literaturgeschichte der Araber*, Mundir reigned from A.D. 520 till 537; according to Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, from A.D. 513 till 562, and the Jew Du Nuwás in Yemen from A.D. 490 till 525.

records about the bishops are scanty enough. Paul, who had been two years dead when Ḏu Nuwás occupied Najrán, is the first known incumbent of that seat. The next bishop was John, whom Justinian I. sent in the 16th year of his reign, when Theophanes with several other legates arrived and asked for one, as well as for priests. The emperor replied that they might select any one they liked; accordingly they took John from the church of St. John the Baptist in Alexandria, who was at that time sixty-two years old, and departed with some priests of his own choice to Yemen. This bishop was succeeded by Gregentius, who presided over the diocese of Ẓafar when the Christian king Abraha, who built churches in every town, restored the supremacy of the Christian religion after conquering Yemen.[156] St. Gregentius, whose ordinances and rules of conduct for his flock, written in Greek, may be seen in the appendix to Hammer-Purgstall's *Literaturgeschichte der Araber*, vol. I., died about A.D. 536, and was succeeded by some bishop sent by the patriarch of Alexandria, who died after a brief tenure of office. Another Hemyarite bishop was ordained by Paulus, otherwise called Zoilus, the orthodox patriarch of Alexandria, who obtained possession of the church after driving into exile the heretic Monophysite Theodosius; but the Hemyarites did not accept the new bishop, because they had already gone over to the Monophysites, and sent legates to the emperor Justinian, requesting him to send them a prelate who would by no means adhere to the decision of the Chalcedonian council. The emperor being deaf to their entreaties, they annually importuned him on this point until he was relieved of them by death A.D. 565; during this contention, which lasted twenty-five years, all their own bishops had successively died, so that henceforth they themselves elected bishops by placing the book of the Gospels on the new bishop's head. The bishops of Botsra (ecclesiastically named the metropolis of Arabia), although more numerous than those of Yemen, do not exceed sixteen[157] who are known by name, till the latter part of the 17th century.[158]

[156] Zotenberg's *Tabary*, tom. II., pp. 188 *et seq.*

[157] Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. II., pp. 852 *et seq.*

[158] Yemen was under the Christian government of the Abyssinian Aryaṭ, who began to reign, after conquering the Jewish king Ḏu Nuwás, about A.D. 525. Aryaṭ was succeeded by Abrahah, A.D. 537, and the latter by his own son Yakshúm, who was followed by Masruḳ, the last Abyssinian. Then Yemen became tributary to Persia, Sayf being the first, Madi Karib the second, Wahriz the third, Marzbán the fourth, and Badan the fifth and last Persian viceroy, who governed Yemen till the promulgation of Islám, of which he made profession.

The Christians of St. John, also called Sabæan Christians, dwelt on the frontiers of Chaldæa and the coasts of Arabia adjoining the Persian Gulf; most of them used the Persian language, although those dwelling on the Arabian side spoke Arabic. Their sacred language was Syriac, and their religion had nothing in common with Zoroastrianism, but was a compound of Jewish, Christian, and afterwards even of Muhammadan tenets. They worshipped one God, but also angels and stars, prayed turning to the west, and sometimes to the south, and read the Psalms of David, but esteemed very highly a Chaldæan book which they attributed to Adam, to whom, as well as to Seth and Enoch, they attributed certain moral maxims they professed to follow.[159] These are the Sabæans alluded to in the 2nd Surah of the Korán in the words, "Verily those who believed and who are Jews, and the Christians and the Sabæans, and believe," &c.

Hirah was tributary to the Sasanians already in the beginning of the reign of Shápúr II., by whose consent Amrulkays was appointed king. How close the relations between the courts of Persia and Hirah were, appears, among other things, also from the well-known fact that Yazdegird II.—called generally by some also the First, because very little is known about his predecessor—entrusted his son Behrám Gúr for education to No'mán B. Amrulkays, who reigned from A.D. 390 to 418. This No'mán was, according to Mirkhond and others, a pagan, but had a Christian vizier, who converted him. One day No'mán was sitting on a balcony of the Khavarnak castle and said to his vizier, "I know of no other place in the world with such a beautiful prospect of landscape, with water, woods, and meadows." The Vizier replied, "O king! it would be well if you could also in the next world have a castle like this." The king said, "How can the affairs of the next world be known?" He replied, "If you leave off the worship of idols, and accept the religion of God, the next world will be revealed to you." These words made such an impression on No'mán that he immediately learnt the chief articles of the Christian faith, came down from the balcony, put away his royal garments, dressed himself in sackcloth, and so shunned human society that he could be seen no more by any one.

During the reign of Nushirván, Christianity appears to have been dominant in Hirah, and No'man V. became a professor of it on his first meeting with A'dy's daughter in a church at Hirah, before he

[159] *Bibl. Or. Ass.*, tom. III., pt. II., p. dcx.

attained royalty, and of his subsequent marriage to her a very lively account is given in the *Kitáb Allagh'ány*.[160] At that time the bishop of Hirah was Jáber B. Shima'ún, and the conversion of No'mán — who appears, according to the *Nŭsekh-al-tow'rikh*, to have been still a pagan when he married his Christian wife, and even after he had become king—is in that work narrated as follows:—No'mán had established a lucky and an unlucky day annually; on the former he distributed prizes, and on the latter he punished. Once he happened to lose his way when hunting, and having been hospitably received by Hanzalah, a poor Arab of the desert, he told him, when he departed, to come to Hirah, where he would reward him. Hanzalah arrived some time afterwards, but on the ill-fated day, and was therefore to be punished with death. The king, however, allowed him one year's respite, on condition of his leaving a hostage, who should be executed in case Hanzalah failed to make his appearance; and the latter at last succeedeed in finding a man, named Kerár, of the Kalb tribe, who agreed to become his substitute. Hereon No'mán presented Hanzalah with five hundred camels, and the latter departed to spend the last year of his life with his family, as well as to make all necessary arrangements. At last the unfortunate anniversary arrived, and Hanzalah the Táyi having failed to make his appearance, the king issued orders to slay Kerár; the nobles of the court demurred, however, to this proposal, on the score that it would not be fair to execute the substitute unless after the expiration of the time granted, namely at sunset. Accordingly No'mán waited, but repeated his command when the orb of day was about to disappear, and lo! a man was seen hastening from a distance, who proved to be Hanzalah. No'mán was much astonished, and, unwilling to deprive him of life, asked, "Why have you again courted the danger of losing your life, after once making your escape?" He replied, "Because I am bound to be honest." No'mán continued, "Who has taught you to be honest?" He replied, "My religion." No'mán asked, "Explain your religion to me that I may accept it, because such a religion must be true." After that Hanzalah explained the doctrines of the Christian religion to No'mán, who henceforth renounced polytheism with all the people of Hirah, and made profession of Christianity. No'mán of course granted pardon to Hanzalah, praised Kerár, and

160 Bulak edition, tom. II., pp. ٢٢—٣٢

abolished the unlucky day for ever. The successor of No'man was Iyas B. Kabiṣah, from A.D. 605-614. He was indebted for his elevation to Khosru Parviz, whom he had aided in his flight to the Roman dominions as far as the frontier fort of Circesium; the kingdom of Hirah was, however, so reduced in his time, that his authority extended to not more than thirty villages around the capital. The last sovereign of Hirah was the Persian satrap Zadyah, from A.D. 614 to 631. During his reign the power of Islám rose, and the Arab tribes submitted one after another to it, and embraced Muhammadanism, between the years A.D. 628 and 631; they had, however, already before that time become independent of the Persian monarchy, which was torn by confusion, and distracted by a quick succession of weak and ephemeral kings.

When Muhammad had established his power he sent Mu'ád B. Jabal with A'bdullah B. Zayd and many others to Yemen to receive the capitation tax. Muhammad dismissed the first-named individual, who appears to have been the leader of the others, with the following brief instruction:—"Be easy and not difficult, promulge good tidings and give no offence. When thou comest to the people who are the possessors of the scripture [*i.e.* Christians and Jews], they will ask thee, What is the key to paradise? Say, The profession that there is no God but Allah, who has no partner." On that occasion he sent envoys to various kings with invitations to accept Islám, and the Mohájer Ben Abu Omayyah Almakhzúmy bore such a message to Al-Háreth Ben A'bd Kellál Al-Hemyary, the king of Yemen.[161]

[161] "The Life of Muhammad according to the tradition of A'bd-ul-Melek Ben Hesham, obtained from Muhammad Ben Eshák." From my MS. translation of the Arabic text edited by Dr. Wüstenfeld.

THE MODERN PERSIAN IDIOMS AND PROVERBS,

محاورات فرس جدید و قدیم و ضرب الامثال

CONTAINING

(1) THE IDIOMS, (2) THE PROVERBS, (3) THE LIVES OF FIRDOSI, SAADI, HAFIZ AND KAANI.

DESIGNED FOR

The University and High Proficiency Examinations.

BY

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PREFACE.

THE following work has been compiled with a view to enable every one to acquire a knowledge of Persian *Idioms* and *Proverbs* with great ease and profit. Of late years a new era may be said to have commenced with regard to the study of Persian, it being one of the most beautiful and University second languages.

The want of a volume like this of moderate size and price has been long and seriously felt by pupils in our colleges and advanced schools. Such being the case, it is desirable that every facility should be afforded to young men desirous to acquire the knowledge of Persian—one of the most beautiful and sweet languages—so as to be able to pass their University Examinations.

The leading object of this work is to place the Persian *Idioms* and *Proverbs* in a collected and well arranged form in the hand of the pupil in order to facilitate his work greatly.

This work is divided into two parts:—

The first part, in addition to Idioms and Proverbs, contains short lives of Saadi, Hafiz, Firdausi and Kaani with two or more Odes of each as specimens. The second part will be out very shortly.

It is earnestly hoped that this little book, the result of much labour and travels, carried on for more than five years, will be found to answer the main purpose for which it is intended, and that the student of Persian, whether at college or school or engaged in private study, will find it a sound and sufficient help to the knowledge of the Persian Idioms and Proverbs. Europeans also will find it of great service in studying the Persian language.

In compilation of this book my greatest obligations are due to Mahomed Usuf Sudager Rais, of Bombay.

سلام علیکم (یا) السلام علیکم	A salutation to all ranks at all times (Good morning).
علیکم السّلام (یا) و علیکم السّلام	A response to the above.
احوال جناب (یا) احوال شریف (یا) احوال شما چه طور است (یا) مزاج مقدس همایون	How do you do?
الحمد للّٰه	Quite well, thank God (thank you).
چه طورید؟	How do you do?
دعا میگویم (یا) دعائی جان شما	I pray for you.
کارها چه طور است؟ الحمد للّٰه از الطاف جناب خوب است (یا) از عنایت عالی خوب است	How is the profession going on? Thank God, it is all right by your kindness.
دیروز کجا تشریف داشتید که نیامدید	Where were you yesterday that you did not come?
بلی آقا-بنده این روزها مشغول کارهائی زیاد هستم	Yes, Sir, I am very much engaged now-a-days.
هیچ فرصتم دست نمیدهد که شرفیاب خدمت عالی بشوم	I have no leisure time to come to you.
حالا از خدمت سرکار مرخص می شوم	I take leave now. I am going now?
چرا به این زودی؟	Well, why do you go so early?
کار دارم آقا	Sir, I have some business.
قیایون بفرمائید	Please smoke the hubble-bubble.
به شربت گلاب میل دارید	Will you drink rose syrup?
خیر آقا-میل ندارم	No, Sir.

خدا حافظ شما (یا) فی امان الله	Good-bye.
خوش آمدید	You are welcome.
اکنون ساعت چند است؟	What o'clock is it now?
ساعت دوازده است (یا) عقربک سر دستر است	It is twelve o'clock or both the hands are exactly on the point.
من از صبح تا بحال چیزی نخوردم	I have not eaten anything since morning.
حالا بروید بعد بیائید	Now you go and come afterwards.
وقت درس خواندن نخندید	Do not laugh when you read.
میخواهی چکارش بکنی؟	What do you wish to do with it?
مدتی آنجا آب نباریده	There has not been any rain for a great while.
آن چه چیز است؟	What is that thing?
کلپوک است	It is a lizard.
من باید همیشه متشکر احسان آنها باشم	I would always be grateful to them.
بنده امروز طبیعتم خوش نیست (یا) ناخوش است	I am ill to-day.
این شخص خیلی تند راه می رود	This man walks very fast.
وزیر—دماغ بچه را پاک کن	Vazir, wipe the nose of the baby.
چرا اینقدر دیر کردید	What made you so late?
بچه را کی بیدار کرد	Who awoke the baby?
او چرا دیروز نیامد اینجا	Why did he not come here yesterday?
شغلی داشتر باشد	He might have some business.
وقتی کر شما طهران تشریف بردید بنده در شیراز بودم	When you went to Tehran I was living in Shiraz.
آنها همیشه با همدگر آزردگی دارند	They are always quarrelling with one another.

برائی تفریح تشریف می برید	Are you going for a walk.
من بشما اعتماد ندارم	I have no confidence in you.
کاروانی از شام رسید که پانصد شتر گندم مال عثمانیه بار داشت	A Caravan from Syria arrived in which there were 500 camels laden with wheat belonging to Osman.
بیدار شو که وقت برخاستن است	Awake, it is time to get up.
هرچه میخواهید بگوئید بکنید اما راست باشد	Be sincere in all you say or do.
چه بوئی خوش درین باغ است	How sweet the garden smells.
آنچه نزد شما است برو قانع باشید	Be content with what you have.
بیا سبق خود را پس بده	Come and repeat your lesson.
آن خیلی کودن است (یا) غبی ست	He is very dull.
این بسیار ذهین است (یا) فتین است	This is very intelligent.
هرچه میگویم زود درک میکند	Whatever I say he understands at once.
می خواهم چرت را بکلی ویل بکنم	I wish to leave off cigars.
شما تتن میکشید ؟	Do you smoke cigarette ?
این تنبلئی شما است که آن کتاب را با خود نیاوردید	It is your idleness that you did not bring the book with you.
دیشب هیچ خوابم نبرد	Last night I could not sleep at all.
اگر چنانچه او بمن مدد نکرده بود من بمراد خود نرسیده بودم	Without his assistance I could not have accomplished my wish.
آنها بسبب خستگی و گرسنگی غش کرده افتادند	They fainted from fatigue and hunger.
الحال (یا) الآن هوا صاف است بروید	It has cleared up now ; go.
این شخص نوکر وفادار قدیم ما است	This is my old and faithful servant.

او صاحب وقار و معرفت است	He is a steady sensible man.
یقین بدان که دروغ است	Be certain it is not true.
آن شخص عیال و اطفال بسیار دارد	He has a large family.
در مُلک ایران قحط سالی اُفتاده است	There is a famine in Persia.
آن زن دل مرا برده است (یا) آن زن مرا فریفته کرده است	She has fascinated me.
این گوسفند (یا) گوسپند چاق است یا لاغر؟	Is this sheep fat?
آن شخص مُرد یک زن بیوه و پنج نفر بچهٔ یتیم را گذاشت	He died, leaving a widow and five children.
آن پسر است و این یتیم	That child is motherless, and this fatherless.
در جهان کسی نیست که بیگناه باشد	None are innocent in this world.
کی درجهان بی گناه است ؟	Who is faultless in this world?
آب گوشت دلمه شده است	The soup has formed into a jelly.
این پسر کوچک نزد من از همه عزیز تر است	I am fondest of this little boy.
اگرچه میخواستم بآنجا بروم و لیکن چون خوف داشتم که دیر بشود نرفتم	I would have gone there had I not been afraid I should be too late.
آن شخص امروز دعوت عام کرده است	He gives a large entertainment to-day.
این دوتا بایکدگر مشتبه اند	These two are alike.
شکل این هر دو مثل هم است	These two are shaped alike.
موش خرما مارها را میکشد	The mungoose kills snakes.
من دو سه جور پرنده دیدم که از هر جور یک جفت نر و ماده بودند	I saw divers sorts of birds; a pair of each.

بجهت عبور کردن از رود خانه در آنجا یک ماشوهٔ مقرر است	To cross the river there is a ferry there.
تمام زمینهای آنجا قابل زراعت است	All the land there is fertile.
من هیچ نمیدانم که در آنجا بسیار بود یا کم	I don't, in the least, know whether there was much or little there.
من نمی دانم چند نفر از آنها در آنجا بودند	I don't know how many of them were there.
آن بذر می پاشد (یا) تخم می پاشد	He is sowing seed.
این زراعت مال کدام برزگر است	To what farmer does this crop belong?
او بجهت بزر پاشی یا تخم پاشی رفته است	He is gone sowing.
خاموش نشستن به از نزاع کردن است	It is better to sit quiet than to quarrel.
من میروم فلان کس را دیدنی بکنم	I will go to see so-and-so.
این پیچ را ساپن (یا) ساپون بزن	File this screw.
این کاغذ ها را بند بکشید	File these papers.
این حوض را پُر کن	Fill this tank.
اگر چنانچه بار دیگر این قسم رفتار بکنید ابواب خواهید شد	If you do so again, all your property will be confiscated.
اول کدام کار را باید بکنیم؟	What must we do first?
من چند نفر ماهی گیر را دیدم که طور می انداختند بجهت ماهی گرفتن	I saw several fishermen casting their nets.
کدام روز را مقرر کرده اید که بآنجا بروید	What day have you appointed for going there?
آن سر باز علم را بالای برج زد	That soldier planted the standard on the bastion.
چرا اینقدر چاپلوسی میکنی؟	Why do you flatter so?
چرا اینقدر پیزر بپالان او میچپانی؟	Why do you flatter him so?
چرا فرار بکنیم هیچ خوف نیست	Why should we fly? there is no fear.

پدر او اورا عاق کرده است	His father has cut him off with a shilling.
آن عاق والدین شده است	His parents have cast him off.
اینها چه جور گل است بیندازید دور	What sort of flowers are these? throw them out.
چقماق بزن آتش بکن	Strike a light with flint and steel.
من یک گلهٔ گوسفندی دیدم	I saw a flock of sheep.
زمین اوطاق مرمت میخواهد	The floor of this room requires repair.
کسی مرخص نیست که این گلها را بچیند	No one is allowed to pull these flowers.
آن نی مزغان میتواند بزند	He plays on the English flute.
این نی لبک میتواند بزند	He plays the flute.
اینجا مگس بسیار دارد	This place is infested with flies.
او شاه پر طوطی را کنده است (یا) کشیده است (یا) چیده است تا نپرد	He has cut the parrot's wings so that it may not fly away.
آن نی زن است	He is a flute-player.
اینهارا توی کاغذ بپیچ	Roll these up in paper.
این کاغذ هارا لای کتاب بگذار	Put these papers between the leaves of a book.
شما جلو بروید من عقب شما می آیم	You go on, I will follow.
من بهیچوجه میلی بآن میوه ندارم	I don't like that fruit at all.
آن چه جور غذا بود؟	What sort of food was that?
آنشخص بسیار احمق است (یا) ابله است	He is a great fool.
چرا اورا منع کردید که اینجا نیاید؟	Why did you prevent his coming here?
الحال آب رود خانه پر زور است هنوز هوا ابر است	The river is very high just now.
آن زن خیلی دور اندیش است	She has great foresight.

کی میتواند خبر بدهد که فردا چه حادثه روی خواهد داد (یا) واقع خواهد شد؟	Who can foretell what may happen on the morrow ?
آنچه بشما گفتم که باو بگوئید فراموش نکنید	Don't forget what I told you to tell him.
اگر چنانچه او بر تقصیر خود قایل شده بود من آنرا بخشیده بودم	Had he acknowledged his fault, I would have forgiven him.
قد درخت سرو راست است	The cypress is straight.
ما باید که بوقت لاچاری بدوستان مدد بکنیم	We should assist our friends in distress.
آن حوض چهار فوّاره دارد	There are four jets d'eau in that fountain.
کسی مانع شما نمی شود هرچه میخواهید بکنید	Do as you please, no one hinders you.
آیا این شیر تازه است ؟	Is this milk fresh ?
این سبزیها تازه است	These vegetables are fresh.
این مقدّمه بارها پیش من آمده است	This case has come before me time after time.
چه کار بکنم هیچ یاوری (یا) مددگاری ندارم	What can I do? I have no interest.
من اورا بکلّی دوست نمیدارم	I don't like him at all.
من یک صورت هولناکی (یا) عجایبی دیدم	I saw a frightful face.
آیا آن ول خرج است یا نه؟	Is he extravagant ?
بجهت آن کاریکه مرا فرستاده بودید بانجام رسانیدم	I have arranged what you sent me about.
آیا شما تا چند روز بعد میتوانید مطابق فرمایش این اسباب را آماده بکنید؟	How soon can you execute this order ?
آن شخص نجّار از همه جور اسباب خانه میسازد	That carpenter makes all sorts of furniture.

We cannot foretell the future.	ما نمیتوانیم بگوئیم که از پودهٔ غیب چه صادر خواهد شد
Gather up the crumbs.	ریزهای طعام را بر چین
Do you think you will make any profit out of that?	آیا بخیال شما چنان میرسد که از آن کار طرفی خواهید بست (یا) چنان می فهمید که این کار بجهت شما منافع دارد ؟
Why did you leave the garden gate open?	چرا در باغ را واز (یا) باز گذاشتید ؟
That gentleman is generosity itself.	آن آقا دریای کرم است
He is generous and humane.	آن مردیست سخی و رحم دل
Do you know him?	آیا شما آنرا می شناسید ؟
He has five children, three sons and two daughters.	آن پنجتا بچه دارد — سه پسر و دو دختر
Take care of this, it's glass.	این را احتیاط باید کرد که باور است
I bought a pair of gloves.	من یک زوج (یا) یک جفت (یا) یک جور دستکش خریدم
Does he make long boots?	آیا آن چکمه دوز است ؟
Yes, he made me a pair of long boots.	بلی (یا) بله آن یک زوج چکمه برای من دوخت
His eldest brother is a blacksmith.	برادر بزرگ او آهنگر است
Tell the carpenter to glue these two boards together.	به نجّار بگو که این دو تخته را باسریش (یا) سریشم بهم بچسپانند
Is this chain silver, or gold, or iron, or brass, or copper?	این زنجیر نقره است یا طلا یا آهن یا برنج یا مس ؟
It is not every one who is fit to be a king.	هر کس قابل سلطنت نیست
This depends on the pleasure of the person.	این بسته بخوشنودی شخص است

آن الحال حاکم بندر ابوشهر شده است	He has become Governor of Abushire.
آیا درین قصبه زراعت بسیار هست ؟	Is there much cultivation about here ?
اغلب زراعت این مُلک گندم است	Most of the crops of this country are wheat.
این خانهٔ بزرگ مال کیست ؟	Whose is this large house ?
من منّت دار شما هستم	I am much obliged to you.
التفات شما کم نشود	Thank you.
از ملاحظه کردن چنین مکتب خانه من نهایت خوشنود هستم	I am very much pleased to see such a school.
شما احسان بسیار بمن کردید	You did me a great kindness.
آن همیشه بمردمان آزار میدهد	He is always annoying people.
این بپدر خود تکلیف بسیار داده است	He was a source of much trouble to his father.
من زیر بار منّت شما هستم	I am much indebted to you.
این آفت سنگین است	This is a dire calamity.
این گندم را آسک کن بیار (یا) آرد کن بیار	Go grind this wheat.
از آن وقتیکه شمارا دیدم تا حال خیلی رُشت کرده اید	You have grown greatly since I saw you.
آیا آنچه من میگویم شما میتوانید بفهمید ؟	Can you understand me ?
اگرچه آن راه را من درست باد نبودم ولیکن بدون راهبر رفتم	Although I was not well acquainted with the road, I found my way without a guide.
سیر کردن بوقت صبح عادت او است	He is in the habit of going out for a walk early.
آن بچها چُلک مُسته بازی میکنند	Those children are playing "Tipcat."
موی آن سفید است	His hair is white.

ریش آن جوگندمی است	His beard is grey.
آن اوطاق چند دری است ؟	How large is that room ?
خانهٔ فلان کس چند تا اوطاق دارد ؟	How many rooms are there in so and so's house ?
فرش اندازآن اوطاق چه قدر است ؟	How large is that room ?
دست اورا بگیرید (یا) اورا دست گیری بکنید	Help him.
یک دستمالی بمن بده	Give me a handkerchief.
من دو قبضهٔ خنجر دارم	I have two daggers.
دستگیرهٔ خانهٔ این میز شکسته است	The handle of this table-drawer is broken.
دسته کلید را بیاویز	Hang up the bunch of keys.
این اتفاق کی افتاد ؟	When did this happen ?
این در حق من بسیار مشکل است	This is very hard on me.
خرگوش بسیار ترسو است	The hare is very timid.
آیا این قسم کار کردن قباحت دارد ؟	Is there any harm in doing so ?
من آن را بدست قاصد فرستادم	I sent that by a messenger.
من آن چیز را بصحابت چاپار فرستادم	I sent it by post.
آنها بجلدی هرچه تمام تر گریختند	They ran away as fast as possible.
چند روز پیش من بمانید	Stay a few days with me (or) spend a few days with me.
آن صاحب وجود است	He is a man of parts.
شما میتوانید این کار را بکنید یا نه ؟	Can you do this (or) are you able to do this ?
من تا ده روز حاضر نبودم	I was absent for ten days.
این قسم گفتگو کردن بیهودگی است	It is nonsense to say so.
آن زر خرید حبشی است (یا) غلام حبشی است	He is an Abyssinian slave.
آن هر روز بمدرسه می رود	He attends college daily.
ما باید که از کار بد حذر بکنیم	We ought to shun evil.

آنچه من میگویم شما قبول دارید؟	Do you agree in what I say?
هنوز لهجهٔ هندی دارم	I still retain my Hindustani accent.
آن کتابیکه بجهت من فرستاده بودید خیلی خوب بود	It was a very good book that you sent me.
او همانساعت بر تجویز من راضی شد	He at once concurred in my scheme.
من نمی روم تا آنکه شما همراه من نیائید	I will not go without you.
پیش رفت من نشد که خواهش خود را بانجام برسانم	I could not carry out my wishes.
هر قدر که شما میخواهید بگیرید من بسیار دارم	Take as much as you please, I have plenty.
باید که شما در نوشتن و خواندن کثرت پیدا بکنید	You ought to practise reading and writing.
این میوه بسیار دبش است	This fruit is very arid.
آن شخص دوست بسیار دارد	He has a large circle of friends.
بلی (یا) بام من همه را می شناسم	Yes, I know them all.
آن علم بسیار پیدا کرده است (یا) حاصل کرده است	He has amassed a great deal of information.
مرافعهٔ او تمام شد و چیزی بر او ثابت نیامد	His trial is over, and he has been fully acquitted.
کار نیک باعث آفرین و تحسین است	A good deed is worthy of praise.
او درکار بسیار چست و چالاک است (یا) زیرک است	He is a very sharp man of business.
آدم و حوا را از باغ بهشت بیرون کردن	Adam and Eve were driven out of Paradise.
اجل آخر بهمه میرسد (یا) عزرائیل آخر جان همه را میگیرد	Death knocks at last at every man's door.
مواجب آن اضافه شده است	His pay has been increased.

Have yon any idea where he is?	آیا شما میدانید کہ آن شخص کجا است؟
To-day's meeting is postponed until Monday.	جمعیتی کہ بجہت امروز مقرر شدہ بود تا روز دو شنبہ موقوف است
Let us decide this matter.	بگذارید کہ رفع و رجوع این کار را بکنیم
I don't agree with you.	من آنکہ شما میگوئید قبول ندارم (یا) نمیکنم
Will they allow a stranger to go in?	آیا آدم بیگانہ را میگذارند کہ توی اندرون بیرود (یا) توی خانہ برود
The enemy had got as far as Delhi.	دشمن تا بشہر دہلی رسیدہ بود
What use is this to me?	آن چیز بجہت من چہ مصرف دارد (یا) بدرد من چہ دوا باشد
She has been poor this long time.	مدتی است کہ دست آن زن تنگ است (یا) مدتی است کہ آنزن در حالت بیچارگی افتادہ است
What do you advise in this business?	شما درین کار چہ صلاح می بینید (یا) میدانید
Do you think it advisable to do so?	آیا شما این قسم کار کردن را مصلحت میدانید (یا) مناسب میدانید
He made a great show of friendship.	آن شخص ظاہراً مہربانی بسیار نشان داد
This is a very sorrowful story.	این حکایت خیلی غم انگیز است (یا) این حکایت غم انگیزی است
He is kind to his subjects.	آن بر رعیتہای خود خیلی مہربان است
He affirmed that this news	آن بیقین گفت کہ این خبر صحیح

بشنیدن این کیفیت دل آن سوخت	He was very much grieved on hearing this.
آنها بسیار غم خوردند	They grieved very much.
من می ترسم در آنجا بروم (یا) من خوف دارم که بآنجا بروم (یا) از رفتن بآنجا من خوف دارم	I am afraid to go there.
التفات فرموده بمن مدد بفرمائید (یا) حمایت بکنید تا آنکه این کار را از پیش ببرم	Please assist me to carry out this.
من نمیخواهم که اوقات او از من تلخ بشود (یا) اورا اوقات تلخ بکنم	I don't wish him to be annoyed with me.
عمر آن دختر از ده سال بیشتر نیست (یا) متجاوز نیست	That girl is not more than ten years of age.
دل آن بمجرد دیدن این کاغذ طپیدن گرفت	The moment he saw this paper his heart failed him.
من قائلم بر آنچه شما میگوئید	I agree to what you say.
آن صاحب بسیار خوش صحبت است	He is a very agreeable companion.
درمیان شما و او چه قرار داد بود ؟	What agreement was there between you ?
آب و هوای اینجا بکلی ناساز گار است	This place is very unhealthy.
افسوس که این همه راست است	Alas ! it is all true.
درمیان این دو تا یک سرموئی فرق نیست (یا) این هر دو مطابق یکدگر است	There is not a hair's-breadth difference between these two.
این چیز بکار من میخورد (یا) بدرد من دواست	This thing is useful to me.
من در رود خانهٔ گنگا یک نهنگی را دیدم	I saw an alligator in the Ganges.
بگذار که من همراه شما بیایم	Let me go with you.

او روزی ده روپیه بخهت پومپه من مقرر کرده است — He allows me ten rupees a day pocket money.

شما تقویم امسال را دارید؟ — Have you this year's almanac?

بلند بگو که بشنوم — Speak out that I may hear.

این را چه طور تغیر بدهم؟ — How shall I alter this?

آن پول بسیار جمع کرده است — He has amassed a large fortune.

دهلی شهریست قدیم (یا) دهلی شهر قدیم است — Delhi is an ancient city.

آیا اوقات شما ازین تلخ میشود — Does this annoy you?

این کدام جانور است (یا) این چه جور جانور است؟ — What animal is this?

شما میدانید که اسم این جانور چه چیز است یا نه؟ — Do you know what the name of this animal is?

آیا شما میتوانید جواب اینرا بدهید؟ — Can you answer this (or) him?

آیا شما میتوانید اینرا جواب بدهید؟ — Can you dismiss him?

من خیلی دلم میخواهد که بآنجا برسم — I want very much to get there.

من در هیچ جا اورا ندیدم (یا) اورا هیچ جا ملاقات نکردم — I did not see him anywhere.

آن هیچ عذری نیاورده — He made no excuse (or) apology.

آن خود را در این کار ظاهر نمیکند (یا) خود را پوشیده میدارد — He does not appear in this business, (or) he is a sleeping partner in this business.

من ازآن کار متعجبم (یا) متعجب هستم — I am astonished at that.

آن بحاکم شرع عرض نمود — He pleaded before the Civil Court.

من چنان می فهمم که شما غلط کردید — I think you made a mistake.

They imprisoned him.	آنها اورا گرفته در زندان (یا) زنجیر خانه انداختند
He has devoted all his property to that purpose.	او تمام مالیات خود را بجهت آن کار مقرر کرده است
Do you approve of my plan?	آیا تجویز من پسند شما است؟
There are five arches in that veranda.	آن ایوان پنج طاق دارد
This is a very difficult job.	این کار خیلی مشکلی است (یا) اینکار خیلی مشکل است
He has very strong proofs, (or) he produces strong proofs.	آن شخص دلیلهای بسیار قوی می آرد (یا) دلیلهای معقول دارد
That king commanded his army himself.	آن پادشاه مختار لشکر خود بود (یا) سردار لشکر خود بود
Do you know if he has arrived?	شما هیچ خبر دارید که آن رسیده است یا نه؟
Have you not heard of his arrival there?	آیا شما هیچ خبر ندارید که او آنجا رسیده است؟
I have no knowledge of that business.	من هیچ مهارتی در آن کار ندارم
They are full of deceit.	آنها بسیار حیله باز هستند
Has he repaired the carriage as I ordered?	آیا آن بموجب حکم من (یا) مطابق حکم من گاریرا درست کرده است یا نه
Come, let us go up the mountain (or) ascend the mountain.	بیا برویم بالای کوه (یا) بیا که بالای کوه برویم
Ask him what his name is?	از او بپرسید که اسم شما چه چیز است (یا) از او بپرسید که اسم او چیست؟
The villagers collected together.	دهقانان اجماع کردند

یک جمعیت کثیری (یا) بزرگی را دیدم	I saw a large crowd (or) concourse of people.
آن چنان میگوید که همچنین است	He says it is so.
ما لازم است که یکدگر را امداد بنمائیم (یا) مابایه که با یکدگر مدد بکنیم	We should assist each other.
چرا با بدان همنشینی (یا) مجالست میکنید؟	Why do you keep bad company ?
من راست بشما میگویم درآن کار هیچ خوف و خطر نیست (یا) خوفی درآن کار نیست	I am in earnest, there is nothing to fear in the business.
بلاشک این راست است	Doubtless it is true.
او ازآن خیلی تعجب نمود	He was very much astonished at it.
آیا شما چیزی از علم نجوم میدانید (یا) شما علم نجوم خوانده اید؟	Do you know anything of astrology ?
من کفارهٔ این گناه را چه طور بدهم (یا) بجهت کفارهٔ این گناه چه بکنم؟	How shall I atone for this sin ?
سواران دشمن بر ما حمله آوردند	The enemy's cavalry attacked us.
یک احضار نامهٔ بجهت من آمده است که بساعت ده در محکمه حاکم شرع حاضر بشوم	I have received a summons to attend the Civil Court at 10 o'clock.
حاضر بودن (یا) شدن شما در آنجا لازم است	Your presence is required there.
شما اراده دارید بحراج بروید یا نه؟	Do you intend to go to the auction ?
من چنان می فهمم که این خبر صریح است	I think this news is true.
مصنف این کتاب کیست؟	Who is the author of this book ?

شما بحکم کی این کار را میکنید؟	By whose order do you do this?
آن خیلی صاحب طمع است (یا) آن خیلی طماع است	He is very avaricious.
آن بسیار خسیس است (یا) کنس است	He is very miserly.
من مجبورم باید بروم	I am forced to go, I have no alternative.
صُبح زود مرا بیدار بکنید	Call me early.
من از آن خبر نداشتم	I did not know of it.
این از آن کار واقف نیست, یا) این در آن کار دست ندارد	He does not know how to do that.
از کُورک شال میبافند	Cashmere shawls are made of goats' hair.
یک تبری بیارید این هیمه را بشکنید	Bring an axe to chop this fire-wood.
آیا او هنوز عزب است (یا) مجرد است (یا) عرسی نکرده است؟	Is he still a bachelor?
بکولهٔ آن مرد چه چیز است؟	What is that man carrying on his back?
شما ضامن او میشوید؟	Will you go security for him, (or) will you be bail for him?
آن بستهٔ پنبه را باز کن (یا) واز کن (یا) وا کن	Open that bale of cotton.
الحال هیچ چه خوف نیست	There is no cause for fear now.
این زمین باکل شوره زار است	This ground is quite barren.
آن زن نُروُک است	That woman is barren.
افسوس که چه کارِ بدی کردم	Alas! what an evil action I have been guilty of.
یک قدری آب در لگن بکن بیار	Bring a little water in the basin.

این چیز ہارا توی گیرہ بکن	Put these things in the basket.
من آدم ہای بسیاری را دیدم کہ در رود خانۂ گنگا جا نشان را می شستند	I saw a number of men bathing in the river Ganges.
آن یک بستہ را روی سر گذاشتہ میرود	He is carrying a parcel on his head.
شما در آن وقت (یا) در آن کار خیلی صبر کردید	You displayed great patience at the time, (or) in that matter.
او غلام خود را خوب زدہ است	He has beaten his slave severely.
آیا آن انسان است یا حیوان؟	Is that thing a man?
آن باغ بسیار خوب است	That is a beautiful garden.
اورا اشارہ بدہید اینجا بیاید	Beckon to him to come here.
آن شخص درینولا متکبّر شدہ است	He has become proud of late.
آن بیمار بستری است	He is confined to bed.
یک زنبور عسلی مرا نیش زدہ است	I have been stung by a bee.
تقصیر مرا بہ بخشید (یا) عفو بکنید	Forgive me, (or) pardon my fault.
یک فقیری بدرِ خانہ آمدہ است	There is a beggar at the door.
آیا آن چاقو مالِ شما است؟	Is that knife yours?
غلّہا رسیدہ است	The crops are ripe.
حالا سہ سال می شود کہ من در اینجا مجاورم	I have been residing here for the last three years.
التفات فرمودہ ملاطفت بشوید	Please pay attention.
آن بیچوجہ فرصت ندارد (یا) کار بسیار دارد	He has no leisure.
من الحال بدوکان آرمسی دوزی میروم برائے فرمایش (یا) سفارش یک زوج آرمسی	I am going to the bootmaker to order a pair of boots.

من چنان می فهم که این قسم کردن انسب است	I think it is best to do so.
مال من از مال شما بهتر است	Mine is better than yours.
چرا بجهت این کار بمن حکم نمیدهید ؟	Why don't you give me an order to do this ?
این کار پیش پا اُفتادهٔ من است	This work is child's-play to me
دست و پای اورا ببند	Bind his hand and foot.
آن شخص بسته را بسته است	He has tied up the parcel.
کنه کنه بسیار تلخ است	Quinine is very bitter.
آیا من از بابت این کار مقصّرم ؟	Am I to blame in this matter ?
آیا سوای من کسی دیگر تقصیر کار نیست ؟	Am I the only one in fault ?
نه خیر بلا شک تو مقصّری	No, you are doubtless to blame.
آن بلکل احمق است (یا) بُخت است	He is an utter fool.
این درخت زود شگوفه خواهد کرد	This plant will soon blossom.
این چاقو بسیار کُند است	This knife is very blunt.
آن از من دلیرتر است (یا) بهمّت آن از من بیشتر است	He is more courageous than I.
یک چفتی بدر بزن	Fix a bolt on the door.
عمر آن از شما بیشتر است	He is older than you.
آن روغن را توی شیشه بکنید	Put that oil in a bottle, (or) bottle that oil.
این گره بو میدهد	This butter is rancid.
آن سلام کرد و نشست	He saluted and sat down.
اسلحهای متقدمین در جنگ تیر و کمان بود	Bows and arrows were the weapons of the ancients.
توی این صندوق چه چیز بکنم ؟	What shall I put (or) pack in this box ?

آن زن علنکو دست کرده است	She wears a bracelet.
این درخت شاخهای بسیار دارد	This tree has a great number of branches.
آیا شما نمی توانید برنج را ازمس تشخیص بکنید (یا) تمیز بدهید ؟	Can you not distinguish brass from copper, (or) don't you know brass from copper ?
شما چه قدر بی تمیز هستید که نمیتوانید برنج را ازمس تشخیص بدهید	How undiscriminating you must be not to know brass from copper.
سربازان پادشاه خیلی جنگجو هستند	The king's soldiers are very brave.
به بینید که آنها چه قدر دلیری نموده اند	See what gallantry they have displayed.
عرض آن پارچه چه قدر است ؟	What is the width of that cloth ?
آیا شما میتوانید این نارجیل را بشکنید	Can you break this cocoanut ?
آنشخص فنجان را شکسته است (یا) خورد کرده است	He has broken the cup.
من چنان دویدم که بیحس شدم (یا) از بسکه دویدم نفس من تنگ شد (یا) بنده شد	I was quite out of breath from running.
این جور کرمها در برنج پیدا می شود	This sort of insect breeds in rice.
آن بچهای خود را بخوبی تربیت کرده است	He has brought up his children very well.
آن درآن مقدمه بسیار رشوت خورد	He was heavily bribed in that case.
آجر را از این قسم گل میسازند	Bricks are made of this sort of clay.
من عروس و داماد هردو را دیدم	I saw both bride and bridegroom.

آیا شما ملتفت شدید برآن ستاره؟	Did you observe that star ?
عرض این بوریا چه قدر لازم است؟	How wide does this mat require to be ?
این را چه رنگ بکنم — سیاه یا قرمز یا سبز یا بخور؟	What colour shall I dye this ? black, crimson, green, or brown.
این درختها شگوفه میکنند	These trees are budding.
من اراده دارم یک خانهٔ بنا بکنم (یا) بسازم	I intend to build a house.
آیا شما از آن گاو نمی ترسید؟	Are you not afraid of that cow ?
این بستم را کجا بگذارم؟	Where shall I put this bundle ?
این همه کار بعهد من است	The whole of this work is confided to me.
انقدر مخور میپکی	Don't eat so much, you'll burst.
آن شخص در را شکست وا کرد	He broke open the door.
آن بجهت تجهیز و تکفین پدر خود رفته است	He is gone to bury his father.
آن برای کاری آمده است	He has come on business.
آن الحال چنان مشغول درکار است که فرصت ندارد بشما حرف بزند	He is so busy now, he has no time to see you.
این قفس است	This is a cage.
آن حلوا را از کی گرفتید؟	From whom did you buy this sweetmeat ?
این آفت بزرگی است بجهت اوشان	This is a dreadful misfortune to them.
یک رقعهٔ مهمانی از برای امشب بجهت من آمده است	I have received an invitation for this evening.
آن یک رقعهٔ وعدهٔ از برای امشب باسم من فرستاده است	I have received an invitation for this evening.

من از بابت آن بهیچوجه فکر ندارم (یا) بکلّی بیفکر هستم	I don't care in the least about that.
آن خیلی صاحب عقل است	He is a very sensible man.
آیا جلد (یا) قاب تیغ دلاکی ندارید ؟	Have you no razor-case ?
این مرافعه بسیار اشکال دارد	This presents many difficulties.
فهرست حرّاج امروز را دیدید یا نه ؟	Have you a catalogue of to-day's auction ?
آن مرغ را بگیر	Catch that hen, (or) take that hen.
آیا سبب آن میدانید چه چیز است ؟	Do you know the reason of that ?
انقدر احتیاط لازم نیست	So much care is not requisite.
حرف شما کی خلاص (یا) تمام میشود ؟	When will you have done talking ?
چه طور اختلاط میکنی (یا) میگوئی	What bosh you talk.
این را درمیان بگذارید	Put this in the middle.
صد سال می شود که این خانه را ساخته اند	This house is a hundred years old.
من این را یقین میدانم	I am sure of this.
من یک صداقت نامهٔ از بابت رویّه و قابلیّت خود از او گرفتم	I got a character from him.
این همه سبوس است اسم گندم هم درین نیست (یا) یک حبّه گندم هم ندارد	This is all chaff, there is not even a sign of wheat in it.
آیا این صندلی از آهن ساخته شده است ؟	Is this chair made of iron ?
بسم اللّه بنشینید (یا) بفرمائید	Please sit down.
این گل گیوه است یا نه ؟	Is this pipeclay ?
من لباس خود را عوض میکنم	I will go change my clothes.

آن سهل القبول و سهل الترک است	He is very fickle.
آن صاحب عزت است (یا) نام نیکو دارد	He has a good reputation.
آن بسیار سخی است (یا) صاحب کرم است (یا) خَیِّر است	He is very charitable.
آنها بسیار کریم الطبع هستند	They are very generous.
این آواز بسیار خوب است (یا) این بسیار خوب آوازیست	This is a pretty song.
بنظر من اینها بسیار ارزان است	I think these are very cheap.
آنها هر کسی را که میتوانند کول میزنند	They humbug every one they can.
این پنیر بد است	This cheese is bad.
من محض دیدن شما آمدم	I came expressly to see you.
از وقتیکه او طفل بود من اورا می شناسم	I know him since he was a child.
این بچه بازی است	This is childish.
آن الحال از ملک چین آمده است (یا) رسیده است	He has just come from China.
او بخوشی خود این کار را کرد	He did this of his own accord.
هرکدام ازین دوتا که پسند شما باشد بگیرید	Take whichever of these two you like.
آنها حلقه زده نشستند	They sat round in a circle.
آنها از چهار طرف اشتهار داده اند	They have given notice in all directions.
این کیفیت بسیار نادر است	This is a very strange occurrence.
آن در علاقه ملکی است	He is in civil employ.
او بهمه تعظیم و تکریم بسیار میکند	He is politeness itself to every one.
آن بدوستی تمام پیش آمد	He behaved in a most friendly manner.

این زن از آن مرد هوشیار تر است (یا) ذهن این زن از آن مرد تیز تر است	She is much sharper than he.
آن وکیل بموکل خود یک کاغذی نوشته است	That lawyer has written a letter to his client.
آن پسر بالای درخت رفت	That boy climbed the tree.
آن بچه بگردن مادر خود می آویزد	The child clings round its mother's neck.
ساعت چند است؟	What o'clock is it?
قریب بساعت دو است	Nearly two.
اوشان بفقیران خوراک و لباس میدهند	They feed the hungry and clothe the naked.
بعضی مردمان سوار گاری میشوند و بعضی پیاده میروند	Some ride in carriages and some go on foot.
این پارچه بسیار کلفت است	This cloth is very coarse.
پرده‌های عنکبوت را بگیر (یا) جاروب بزن	Sweep away the cobwebs.
یک جمعیت بسیاری درآنجا جمع بود	There was a great crowd collected there.
این رنگ را درانگریزی چه چیز میگویند (یا) این را درانگریزی چه رنگ میگویند؟	What do they call this colour in English?
سرخود را شانه بکنید	Comb your hair.
این تسلی دل او خواهد شد	This will comfort him.
آن بمن حکم فرمود که همانساعت بآنجا بروم	He ordered me to go there at once.
بیا تا شروع در کار خود بکنیم (یا) بیا که کار خود را شروع بکنیم	Come, let us commence our work.
تجاران بندر ابوشهر مشهور هستند	The merchants of Abushire are well known.

Trade is very brisk in Bombay just now.	الحال در بندر بمبئی بازار تجارت بسیار گرم است
The vulgar speak in this manner.	عامها این طور حرف میزنند
Let him know about this.	اورا از بابت این خبر بکنید
He appears to be eloquent.	چنان معلوم می شود که آن حرّاف است
I have no companion.	من هیچ دمسازی (یا) همصحبتی ندارم
I am very fortunate to be with you.	زهی سعادت من که همراه شما باشم (یا) در خدمت شما باشم
Why are you so cruel ? have you no humanity ?	چرا انقدر بیرحمی میکنی مگر هیچ مروت نداری؟
You are not up to this work.	شما لیاقت این کار را ندارید
I have been complaining of his conduct for a long time.	مدتی است که من از رفتار او داد میزنم
He has always some complaint or other to make.	آن همیشه گله میکند (یا) گله مند است
He knows this language perfectly.	آن شخص در این زبان کامل است
Mr. So-and-So presents his compliments to you.	فلان آقا دعای شما را رسانیده است
What can I do unless you consent.	بدون رضای شما من چه میتوانم بکنم
I cannot hush up this matter.	من نمی توانم این مقدمه را پوشیده بدارم
We ought not to be conceited.	ما باید که از خود نبالیم
Why are you so stuck up ?	شما چرا دماغ میفروشید
He is very egotistical.	او بسیار خود پسند است
How vain he is.	آن چه طور باد میرود
I think you are in the right.	من چنان می فهمم که حق بجانب شما است

این بهیچوجه کار شما نیست	This is no business of yours.
آن زن ازین کیفیت بسیار متفکر گردیده است	She is very much grieved at this.
حالت من از حالت آن بهتر است	I am better off than he.
رفتار او لایق تعریف است	His conduct is praiseworthy.
مارا بآنجا کی خواهد برد	Who will take us there.
من خود قائلم بر آنکه درین مقدمه چیزی تقصیر از من صادر شده است	I admit I am somewhat to blame in this matter.
من قول اوشان را هیچ اعتبار ندارم (یا) هیچ اعتماد بر قول او شان ندارم	I don't trust what they say.
شما تمام کارهای مرا برهم زدید	You have upset all my affairs.
این فقره (یا) جمله (یا) کلام مهمل است	This sentence is nonsense.
آن پادشاه تمام این ملک را بفتحت تصرف خود در آورد (یا) تمام این ملک را گرفت	That king conquered all this country.
یاد من نیست که همچنین گفته باشم	I don't remember having said so.
آن پسر بدون اذن (یا) رخصت (یا) اجازت رفت	That boy went without leave.
من بعد بجهت این تجویز میکنم	I will arrange about this afterwards.
بیا که از بابت این مقدمه بایکدگر مشورت بکنیم	Come, let us consult about this matter.
این صندوق چه قدر نیل میگیرد؟	How much indigo does this chest hold?
ما باید که کسی را حقیر نخوانیم	We should not despise any one.
من بر آنچه دارم قناعت میکنم (یا) قانعم	I am content with what I have.

آنها همیشه از هر بابت بحث (یا) مباحثه میکنند	They are always disputing.
او این را اجاره کرده است	He has contracted for this, (or) taken a contract for this.
من چگونه میتوانم بآنجا بروم	How can I possibly go there.
شما میل بحرف زدن دارید؟	Are you fond of conversation?
التفات فرموده این چیز را باو برسانید	Kindly give this to him, (or) let him have this.
آن شخص غذای خود را خود می پزد چونکه طباخ ندارد (یا) آن چونکه طباخ ندارد طعامش را خودش درست میکند	He has no cook, so cooks for himself.
این شیشه سر ندارد	This bottle has no cork, (or) stopper.
سر شیشه را بگیر	Cork the bottle.
قدری ریسمان باریک بخرید و این چیز هارا بهم ببندید	Buy some twine and tie these things together.
در سال گذشته بسیار غله شده بود	There was a good harvest last year.
رفتار اهل اینجا بسیار بد است	The people of this country are very badly conducted.
آنها در کُمه (یا) با کومه می مانند (یا) می نشینند	They live in huts.
این تخت را باو طاق دیگر ببرید	Take this couch into the next room.
آن آقا یکی از مشاوران خاص است	That gentleman is one of the ministry.
ما باید که از نصیحت عاقلان شانه کش (یا) شانه گیر نشویم	We should not disregard the advice of the wise.
درین ملک پنبه با فراط بهم میرسد	Cotton is largely produced in this country.
شما از این دلیر تر هستید	You are braver than he.

زراعت پنبه در اینجا بسیار است	Cotton is much cultivated here.
اینجا وطن خاص من است	This is my native country.
یک جور تیغ دلاکی از برای من بخرید	Buy me a pair of razors.
آنها بسیار حریص اند (یا) هستند	They are very avaricious.
آن فنجان مردار شده است	That cup is cracked.
این شیر هیچ چربه ندارد	This milk is very poor.
خدایتعالی جهانرا آفریده است (یا) خلق کرده است	God created the world.
صانع کُل مصنوعات حق تعالی است	God is the creator of all things.
دست این شخص بسیار تنگ شده است الحال میخواهد با طلبگاران از بابت قرضش چیزی بندوبست بکند	He has got into bad circumstances and wishes to come to an arrangement with his creditors.
بچها همیشه کاکلُه میکنند	Children always crawl.
بینید که آن کلَپک چه طور بالای دیوار میرود	Look how that lizard goes up the wall.
آن شخص نکته گیر است	He is critical.
چرا این جدول را کج کشیدید	Why did you draw this line crooked?
این جدول کج است	This line is crooked.
او همیشه بوقت بانگ خروس بیدار می شود (یا) او همیشه صبح زود بیدار می شود	He always wakes at cock-crow or cock-shout.
خیلی خوشی اوشان است که بدیگران بیرحمی بکنند	They delight in being cruel to others.
چرا گریه میکنید (یا) فریاد میزنید چه طور شده است	What has happened? Why do you cry?
درازی این چوب تخمیناً سه وجب است	This stick is about three spans long.

Have you sown anything there?	آیا چیزی در آن زمین کاشته اید؟
They are by nature deceitful.	مکاری در وجود اوشان است
He uses a tea urn.	او با سماور چاهی میخورد
They have a very handsome tea service.	آنها فنجان نایکین چاهی خوری بسیار خوب دارند
He has a silver teapot.	آن قوری نقره دارد
This is a rare shell.	این جور گوش ماهی نایاب است
This door has no chick.	این در پرده ندارد
Who is the originator of this custom?	این رسم را کی ایجاد کرد؟
Did you go to the custom house?	آیا شما بگمرک رفتید؟
You have made this pen so badly it won't write at all.	شما این قلمرا انقدر بد تراشیده اید که بکلی نمینویسد
This house is very damp.	این خانه بسیارنم سار است
They are very profligate.	آنها همیشه در لهو و لعب مشغول هستند
I have not the face to do it.	روی من نمی آید که این کاررا بکنم
It was very dark last night.	دیشب هوا خیلی تاریک بود
They are sunk in gross ignorance.	آنها بکلی گمراه هستند
I have not the courage to do this.	من جرأت ندارم که این کاررا بکنم
They rise at dawn.	آنها همیشه بوقت سحر بیدار می شوند
I saw a dead snake on the road.	من یک مار کشتهٔ را در راه دیدم
He is honest.	آن شخص دیانت دار است
I love him dearly.	من باو محبت بسیار دارم (یا) من بسیار محبت باو دارم

آن آدم دولاب بازی است (یا) دولابی است	He is a humbug.
این مقدمه را باو رجوع بکنید	Refer this case to him.
یک حکمی از بابت آن کار صادر شده	An order was published concerning this affair.
آیا این بنظر شما عیب دارد؟	Do you see any fault in this?
مدعی و مدعی علیه هر دو پیش قاضی (یا) حاکم شرع رفتند	The plaintiff and defendant went before the Judge.
او گاهی نادان نیست	He is no fool.
او کوز پشت است	He is a hunchback.
دل او بسیار گرفته است (یا) تنگ است	He is very melancholy.
درین کار تعطیل بسیار واقع شده است	There has been great delay in this matter.
من این را عین صواب می بینم (یا) میدانم	I think this by far the best.
بمن هیچ رجوع نیست (یا) بمن چه رجوع	It is nothing to me.
این لقمه بسیار لذیذ است	This is a titbit.
من از ملاقات او نهایت خوشنود گردیدم	I was delighted to see him.
او برادر خود را از حالت خرابی نجات داد	He assisted his brother out of great misery.
پیام را باو رسانیدید؟	Did you give him the message?
او از بابت گفتن این سخن انکار میکند	He denies having said so.
شما کی میروید (یا) کی میخواهید بروید؟	When do you start?
رفتن من موقوف بر تندرستی است	My going depends on the state of my health.
این حوض چند کلّه آب دارد (یا) چه قدر قُوّل است	How deep is this reservoir?

آنها لایق سیاست بستند	They ought to be punished.
من بملاقات او میل بسیار دارم	I should like much to make his acquaintance.
او مشتاق ملاقات شما است	He wishes to be introduced to you.
نوکر هارا معطل نکنید	Don't delay the servants.
دیشب شبنم بسیار اُفتاده بود	There was a heavy dew last night.
درمیان این دوتا چه فرق است (یا) فرق چه چیز است ؟	What difference is there between these two?
مردمان از بابت این متفق الرّای نیستند (یا) مختلف الرّای اند	People disagree concerning this matter.
آن گُل را بکنید	Pull that flower.
باید که شما درین کار بسبیل استمرار مشغول باشید	You must work perseveringly at this.
او ساعت یک نهار میخورد	He breakfasts at 1 o'clock.
باید که بروم وقت طعام (یا) غذا خوردن است	I must go, it is dinner time.
این راه راست میرود بشهر کلکته	This is the direct road to Calcutta.
ازراه مهربانی بمن نشان بدهید که او کجا است	Kindly tell me where he is.
من مطابق دستور العمل شما رفتار خواهم کرد	I will act upon your instructions.
این راه بسیار شُل و گل است	This road is very muddy.
این قسم رفتار نمودن بجهت شما نقصان دارد	Such conduct is injurious to yourself.
اگر همچنین باو میگوئید بدش می آید	He won't like your saying so.
از همین سبب میل دارم که اینطور بکنم	That is the reason I like to do so.

درمیان آنها نفاق کُلّی اُفتاده است (یا) درمیان آنها نا اتّفاقی اُفتاده است	There has been a regular disunion between them.
من بکلّی محروم شدم	I was quite disappointed.
این لشکر بکلّی بی قاعده است	This army is undisciplined.
آن رسم الحال منسوخ شده است	That custom is obsolete.
من ازین گفتگوی شما از بابت آن نا امید شدم	I have lost all hope about that from what you say.
آن اختراع بسیار مفید خواهد اُفتاد	That invention will turn out very useful.
آن قابل است ولیکن تمیز ندارد	He is clever but wants tact.
این کار بجهت من رسوائی دارد	It would disgrace me to do so.
آنها خیانت کار هستند	They are dishonourable.
من از صحبت اوشان بسیار کراهت دارم	I dislike their society excessively.
مجلس پادشاه برخواسته شد	The king dismissed his courtiers.
من نمی توانم که زیر حکم آن بزنم	I cannot disobey him.
قابلیت و لیاقت او از آن کار صاف ظاهر است	His capability and fitness are quite apparent from this.
اوقات آنها بسیار تلخ شد	They became very angry.
آیا شما میتوانید این اسبابهارا بجهت من بفروشید ؟	Can you dispose of these things for me?
درمیان شما و او چه بحث است	What is the moot point between you.
چرا ناراض هستید	Why are you annoyed ?
آیا شما میتوانید اورا از کارهای چنین بد منع بنمائید (یا) باز بدارید	Can you not prevent him behaving so badly.

از شیراز تا بطهران چه قدر دور است؟	How far is it from Shiraz to Teheran?
شما باید سعی بکنید که آن زود بیاید	You must try to make him come quickly.
تعجیل نمودن کار عاقلان نیست	The wise are never hasty.
او کلاهش را از سرش برداشت (یا) بیرون آورد	He took off his hat.
از هیچ چیز نفرت نباید کرد مگر از گناه	We should hate nothing but evil.
آیا شما باو دوستی دارید؟	Are you friends with him, (or) are you a friend of his?
تل رشت ریزی در آنجا است	The ash-pit is over there.
یک انبار کاغذی در اینجا جمع شده است بیرون ببر	There is a quantity of papers here, take them away.
اول آنچه من میخواهم بگویم بشنوید بعد از آن جواب بدهید	First hear what I have to say and then answer.
دل انسان (یا) انسان میل بگناه گاری دارد	The heart of man is prone to evil.
این هیچ وزنی ندارد سُبک است	This is of no weight.
این صندوق بسیار سنگین است چه طور (یا) بچه ترکیب میتوانم آنجا ببرم؟	This box is very heavy, how can I take it there?
بلندی این دیوار چه قدر است (یا) بلندی این دیوار چند زرع است؟	How high is this wall?
آن وارث عموی خود است	He is his uncle's heir.
آنشخص بکلّی لاچار (یا) ناچار است	He is in great poverty, (or) very helpless.
در ملک بنگاله کوه کم است	Bengal is a flat country.
از بابت این چیزی اشاره باو بدهید	Give him a hint about this.
بجهت سفر تخت روان بسیار خوب است	A horse litter is an excellent conveyance.

آن ماهی پولک بسیار دارد	That fish has a great number of scales.
آن زن نجیب نیست (یا) آن زن نانجیب است	She is no better than she should be.
این چیز بجهت من بی مصرف است (یا) هیچ مصرف ندارد	This is of no use to me.
سن شما چه قدر است؟	How old are you?
شما میل بانبه دارید یا نه؟	Are you fond of mangoes?
شما عمامتان را خود تان می بندید یاکس دیگر بجهت شما می بندد	Do you tie your own turban or get it done for you?
بگوئید این جارا جاروب بکنند	Get this place swept.
من می آیم و لیکن منتظر من نباشید	I will come, but don't wait for me.
روی این زور بیاورید (یا) بیارید	Press this down, (or) lean on this.
آن چوب بسیار صلب است و لیکن این خیلی ترد است	That stick is hard, but this is very brittle.
من دیروز عصر پیش او رفتم	I went to him yesterday evening.
آن بوقت ظهر پیش من آمد	He came to me at noon.
شما چه وقت شام میخورید؟	When do you dine?
من نصف شب بیدار شدم	I awoke in the middle of the night.
او بتلاش نوکری آمده است	He has come to look for service.
دوات یله شد ریخت	The ink bottle upset.
بنده این روز ها مشغول کارهای زیاد هستم	I am very much engaged.
میخواهم سیاحت ینگی دنیا بکنم	I wish to take a round in America.
بنده امروز سوار کالسکه شدم- خیلی راه رفتم	I drove in a carriage and went to a distance.

دیشب مهتاب خوبی بود- قدری در باغ گردش کرده خوابیدم	Last night there was a pleasant moonlight, I took a walk in the garden and slept.
یک ساعت بغروب مانده که آقای فلان تشریف آوردند	Such and such a gentleman had come one hour before sunset.
گل اقاقیا هنوز باز نشده	The Aka-kia flower has not blossomed as yet.
بچه ها طراقه میزنند	Boys are crackering.
درین شهر حمال پیچ یافت نمی شود	There is no porter in this city.
خانهٔ شما در شیراز کدام محله است	In what part of Shiraz do you live?
محلهٔ مسجد نو دم شاه چراغ	I am living in the New Musjid Street, near Sháh Cheerag.
آن مرد ناخوش است	He is ill.
امروز وزیر تکسر مزاجی دارد	The Vazir is rather unwell or ill.
این شخص توئی این واپور می رود	He goes in this ship.
شما می توانید که از عهدهٔ این کار بر آئید	Can you do this work?
بلی آغا چرا نمی توانم	Yes, Sir, why not.
مرد که تو چکار داری با من	Well, what have you to do with me?
من از صبح تا بحال چیزی نخوردم	I have not yet eaten anything since morning.
این بچه ساعت بساعت پا می شود دست به چراغ می گذارد- آخر می سوزد	This boy stands up every now and then and touches the lamp, he will be burnt at length.

وقتی که سبق خود را یاد کردم- به تفرج بیرون رفتم	I went for a walk after learning my lessons.
از لب های شما تشنگی معلوم است	It seems by your lips that you are thirsty.
نلبکی این فنجان چه شده	Where is the saucer of this cup?
این اسپ مال چند است - دویست و پنجاه روپیه	What is the price of this horse? Two hundred and fifty.
وزیر کتاب ناصری از من گرفت و رفت که رفت	
من از دیدن شما خیلی خوشوقت می شوم	I was very glad on seeing you.
هوا تاریک شده است	It is growing dark now.
برو آن جانور را ویاش کن (یا) رها کن	Go and set the bird at liberty.
سر قلیان شما کجا است	Where is the fire-pan of your hubble-bubble?
کلاه برسرت بگذار - لباست را بپوش	Put on your cap and dress yourself.
بشقاب این کاسه را که شکست	Who broke the saucer of this cup?
زیر جامهٔ خودت درست کن	Arrange your trousers.
تو چرا اینقدر بلند حرف میزنی	Why do you speak so loudly?
جناب آغا مخلص شما هستم	Mr. Aga, I am your true friend.
سرور هستید	You are my superior.
عقر یک سر دسته بود که من از خواب بیدار شدم	It was twelve o'clock when I got up from the bed.
جناب آغا مرخص می شوم	Sir, I take leave.
خیر - هنوز زود است - قدری دیگر توقف بفرمائید	No, you are earlier, take your seat for a little while more.
آغا نمی توانم - که اینوقت جائی رفتن دارم	Sir, I cannot, because I have to go to a place.

خدا حافظ شما (یا) فی امان اللّٰه (یا) بر امان خدا	Good-bye.
خوش آمدید-سلامت باشید	You are welcome—may you be safe.
قیایون میل بفرمائید-خیر آغا	Smoke the hubble-bubble. All right, Sir.
در ایران این روزها بسیار سرد است پوا یخ بنده است	This season in Persia it is very cold, so much so that snow falls very hard.
میخواهی کلاه از سرمردم بر داری	Do you mean to deceive people?
او میخواهد کہ مرا کول بزنه	He wishes to deceive me.
میگویند امروز اسپ دوانی است	It is said that there will be races to-day.
از بمبئی تا لندن جهاز آتشین میرود	Steamers ply between Bombay and London.
اسپ من افسار ندارد-زیر یراق هم ندارد	My horse has got neither saddle nor halter.
او جلو رفته است-من بعد میروم	He went before and I will go afterwards.
اخوندت کیست-مرزا صاحب	Who is your teacher, Mr. Mirza?
این شخص خیلی معروف و متشخص است	He is very famous.
آغا حسین امروز از اسپ خود پرت شد	Mr. Husain had a severe fall from his horse to-day.
بسیار صدمه به او وارد آمده	He sustained great injury.
با کہ رفته بود-بنده نمیدانم	With whom had he gone, I don't know.
مردم شیراز در زمستان چکمه می بندند-بعضی پاتابه و بعضی زنگار می پوشند	In winter, some people of Shiraz put on gaiters, some put on Pataba and some Zangar (a kind of long boot).

فوّارهای اینجا بلند آب می ریزد	The fountains of this city throw their waters very high.
می خواهم توئی اطاق شما خواب کنم	I want to sleep in your room.
اطاق شما چند پلّه میخورد چار	How many steps are there to the staircase of your room?
قدری کمت کنید تا دروازه را باز کنم	Wait a little, please, I will open the door.
اطاقهای این جهاز خیلی قشنگ و با زینت است	The compartments of this ship are very much comfortable and decorated.
شب از کثرت کیک و پشها هیچ خوابم نبرد	Owing to the annoyance of the swarms of mosquitoes and gnats I could not sleep.
بلی اهالئی این شهر عموشه زده خواب می کنند	Yes, the people of this city tie mosquito net around the bed and then sleep.
برو درِ اطاق را واز کن	Go and open the door of the room.
قدیفهٔ من گم شد	I have lost my bed-cover.
فردا ساعتِ پنج و ربع خدمت شما میرسم	To-morrow I will call at your house at quarter past five o'clock.
امروز دم اسکله تماشائی خوبیست	There is a nice amusement on the sea-shore.
این جا همه درّه و تپهٔ خشک است	Here are all glens, dales and barren hillocks.
پسرهٔ مرزا حسن پنجسال دارد بسیار خوشگل است	The son of Mirza Hussan is five years old, and he is very beautiful.

گندم خوب درینجا درست عمل نمی آید	Wheat of good quality is not grown here.
شب ساعت نه و شیپور میترنند	They blow the bugle at 9 o'clock in the evening.
درخت پای اینجا هیچ برگ نداده	The trees of this place do not bear new leaves as yet.
ازینجا تا به آنجا با قایق آمد و شد می کنند	The people cross the river by means of small boats.
میرزا مهدی به قاطر سوار می شود	Mirza Mahdi rides on the mule.
نهار در باغ خوردیم	We took our breakfast in the garden.
عصرانه خورده قدری گردش کردیم	After supper we had a short walk.
این شخص بو شکسته است	This man is bankrupt.
چرا همپائی من تا شهر نیامدید	Why did you not come to the city ?
حاجی آغا کی رفت-رشت رفته است آغا	Where has Haji Aagha gone to ? He has gone to Rusht.
گوئی خودت را مگذار که داخل آب برود	Do not let your ball fall into the water.
خدمت شما صحبتی دارم (یا) میخواهم خدمت شما چیزی	I want to talk to you.
عرض بکنم (یا) خدمت جناب شما عرض دارم	I have to say something to you.
بلی چه میخواهید بمن بفرمائید	Well, what is it you wanted to say to me?
طرف عصر دم دریا موزیک میزنند	At the evening time the band plays on the sea-shore.
مهدی حسن برو—میرزا محمد را همپای خودت بیار	M., go and bring Mirza with you.
چشم	Very willingly.

سگ من کجا است - درِ اُطاق واز بود گریخت	Where is my dog? The door was open and he ran away.
نباید که شما درِ اُطاق را باز بگذارید	You ought not to have opened the door.
بارها با چنین اسپ بد دریا را عبور کرده ام	I have often crossed the river with as bad a horse as this.
من باید امروز شهر بروم	I ought to go to-day to the city.
جناب آغا میخواهم حالا رشت بروم - اگرچه اجازت سرکار باشد	I wish to go to Rusht now if you may.
ملتفت شدید - شنیدید	Did you hear, please?
بنده یک صندلی واسطهٔ نشستن شما دارم	I have a chair to sit on.
من باید کار آن شخص را انجام بدهم	I have to do his work.
او نمی خواهد که یک قلم تراش بمن بدهد	He does not wish to give me a penknife.
احمد این روز ها تو خیلی بی ادب شدهٔ	Ahmed, you are very mischievous.
شرم بسیار خوب چیزی است	Modesty is the best thing.
این اُطاق را ابداً تار عنکبوت گرفته	This room is filled up altogether with cobwebs.
مرزا مهدی خبرداری که این بی حیا بسر من چه آورده است	Mirza, do you know what a great calamity he had brought upon me?
خیر آغا بنده از کجا خبر دارم	Sir, how am I to know that?
مرد که چرا هر روز بمن می آئی - بخدا که اوقاتم تلخ میکنی	Why do you intrude upon my time and bother with me every day?
آخر سرت درد که نمی کند	Have you become mad?
ایشان هیچ وقت از هم جدا نمی شوند	They never part from each other.
ای بابا حالا وقت حرف زدن نیست	It is not the time to speak.

ترا بخدا ,کجا مرا تو عیب میگری	By God, tell me the truth, what defect do you find in me?
بسم الله جناب آغا قیایون میل بفرمائید	Go on, please, try the hubble-bubble.
خیر آغا - نمی توانم این گرا کو را بکشم - خیلی تند است	Excuse me please, I don't smoke this tobacco. It is very bitter.
کریم تو در أطاق من چه کار داری - جائی تو طویله است	Karim, what have you to do in my room. Go, your room is in the stable.
بچه جرأت به أطاق من پا میگذاری	Why do you dare to enter my room.
هیچ عقلم نرسید که غربول اینجا است	I did not know at all that the sieve was lying here.
از انوقت تا بحال پئی شما میگردم	From that time up to now I have been looking for you.
این ریسمان را دست میگیرد بالا میرود	He climbs up by means of a rope.
زنکه چرا حرف مفت میزنی	Oh, woman, why do you worry for nothing.
تا کی از نا مربوط گفتن خود دست بر نمیداری	How long will you continue this worry.
هیچ خجالت نمی کشی - حیا نمی کنی پیش روئی من بعیال تهمت می بندی	Don't you feel ashamed to accuse my family falsely in my presence?
برو قدری آب بیار	Go and get me some water, please.
آب قیایون گندیده شده برو عوضش کن	The water in the hubble-bubble is rendered filthy; go and pour fresh water in it.

احمد این نیم تنهٔ من دکمه ندارد- برو بده به خیاط که زود تو درست بکند	Ahmed, there are no buttons to my waist-coat; go and get it mended by the tailor.
هیچ طفره مزن زبانت را بر مگردان	Don't make a pretence; don't turn your tongue round.
آغا حسین بکلّی درحق من قطع رحم کرده است	Aaga Husain has forsaken me; he is no friend of mine any more.
مستخدمینی که متعلق به آن صوبجات هستند- درین شهر ییلاق می کنند	The officials in the districts pass their summer here.
حاجی صالح شنیدم رشت میروی- بلی آقا میروم	I heard you were going to Rasht. Yes, Sir, I am going there.
خدمتی بشما رجوع خواهم کرد- باید انجام بدهی	I will confide a certain service to you; you must carry it out for me.
بجهت همین بود شما را خواستم	It was on this account I sent for you.
بفرمائید آقا- با جان و دل برای فرمایشات سرکار حاضرم	Be pleased to command, Sir: I am ready with life and heart to carry out the orders of your Excellency.
باید یک نیم تنه زری آبی در رشت بدهی بدوزند تا امروز مثلش را در لنگران ندیده باشند	You must get a blue gold embroidered jacket made in Rusht; and the like of it must never have been seen to this day in Lankaran.
همین که نیم تنه حاضر شد میدهی بزرگریست و چار دانهٔ دکمه طلا از تخم مرغ کوچکتر	When the jacket is ready, you get a goldsmith to make twenty-four buttons smaller than a hen's egg.

و از تخم کبوتر بزرگتر درست می کنند — دوریخم اش میدوزند وقت برگشتن همراه خود بیار — چشم	Larger than pigeon's; let them be sewn round the collar of the jacket. At the time of your coming back bring it with you. Very well.
بچه قیل و قال خواهم افتاد — و چه اوقات تلخی خواهم کشید	What a questioning and gossiping I shall happen upon, and what bitter times I shall have of it.
اخ ایه — بندهٔ خدا شما عجب عادت کرده اید	Oh, you men! You have all of you got a curious habit.
جناب آغا کی بر میگردید — تا یکماه دیگر بر میگردم	Sir, when you will come back in another month I shall be back.
پس من لابد باید پیش از وقت ترا از مطلب خبردار کنم	Then I must, perforce, make you acquainted with the matter beforehand.
وزیر در اطاق دم اندرون نشسته	The Wazir is seated in a room at the entrance of his harem.
وزیر زود بر میگردی یا خیر	Are you coming quickly, or not.
می خواهم چیزی غریبهٔ در عید به یمنی بدهم	I want to give a present of something rare to Yamani.
وزیر سر قلیان را چاق کن	Wazir, go and get the fire-pan of the hubble-bubble re-filled.
این تولهٔ سگ را که گذارد اینجا	Who has left this pup here?
این زن بسیار چاق و فربه است	This woman is very fat.
اوقات من از آمد شان بسیار تلخ است دیگر نیائید	My valuable time is lost by your intrusion. Don't come any more now.
از بسیار کفن سر ما درد نیامده است	Don't you feel pain in your head by so much worry.

درین وقت وقت صحبت نیست	It is not the time to talk and speak.
جناب آقا-صحبتی خدمت سرکار دارم بلقب شد	I want to have a private interview with you.
بگوئید من گویم بشما ست	Speak, I am all attention.
ترا چه می شود - که دلتنگی	What is the matter with you, you seem to be a little sorry.
ایا از دست این بچها بجان رزه مایهٔ در سر و اوقات تلخی است	I am tired of these children.
الله اکبر-عجب گیر نیفتادم-بتو چه؟ بتو هرچه می گویند برو همان طور کت	Great Allah ! in what strange straits do we fall ! You mannikin ! what affair is it of yours ? You go and attend to whatever people tell you to do.
این حرفها را بکس مگوی	Don't reveal the secret to anybody.
خیر-آقا من چه صد دارم سر شما را فاش کنم	No, indeed, Sir ; what business of mine is it to divulge your secrets ?
بارک الله برو مرخصی	God may bless you. Go ! be off with you ! You are dismissed !
حرفهائیکه با حاجی صاحب میزدید همه را مو بمو تا آخرش شنیده ام	The words that you spoke to Haji Saheb, I heard them all, letter by letter, to the very end.
همانوقت که حاجی صاحب را خواستی فهمیدم بعلم اثر کرد - که با او مطلبی داری	When you sent for Haji Saheb, I understood at the very time — it impressed my mind — that you had something to do with him.

آمدم یورشکی پشت آن یکی در اطاق قایم شدم

I came softly and stood behind the door of the room.

گوش دارم - دیدم همان طور است که خیال کرده بودم

I listened; I saw that it was even as I had imagined.

من حرف ترا و تو کرت را هرگز باور ندارم

I never believe either you or your servant's word.

سرت را مثل کبک زیر برف کرده خوب وبدت را نمی فهمی

You, like a partridge, have put your head under the snow; so that you do not understand whether it is for your happiness or for your sorrow.

وزیر تو بحرف من گوش نکردی حالای سزای تست بکش

You would not listen to my words. Now this is your punishment, so endure it.

بای آقا خطا کردم بر بخشید وزیر تو برو این کار را به او حالی کن

امروز برائی شام و نهار هرچه میل دارید بفرمائید بپزند

Be pleased to command what you desire for breakfast and dinner to-day, that they may cook it.

خواهر تو از خسیسی مثل تاجر پائی اصفهانی پنیر را توئی شیشه کرده نانش را پشت شیشه می کشد حال همچو شده است

Your sister in her parsimony is equal to the Ispahani merchants, putting her cheese into a bottle and rubbing her bread on the outside of the glass only.

SELECTION OF PERSIAN PROVERBS.

مشک آنست کہ خود ببوید نہ کہ عطار گوید	Good wine needs no bush.
کہ تعجیل کارے شیاطین بود	Haste is waste.
گرسنگی را نان تہی گوفتہ است	Hunger is the best sauce.
سنگ سنگ را می شکند	Diamond cuts diamond.
آنچہ برخود نہ پسندی بر دیگران مپسند برکس مپسند آنچہ ترا نیست پسند	Do as you would be done by.
تندرستی ہزار نعمت است	Health is wealth.
تربیت نا اہل را چون گردگان بر گنبذ است — نہ زنگی بہ گرمابہ گردد سپید	Black stones will never turn white.
اول خویش بعدہ درویش	Charity begins at home.
دیگ سیاہ جامہ سیاہ می کند	Evil company corrupts good manners.
کردنی خویش آمدنی پیش	Evil to him who evil thinks.
طبل درون خالی آواز بسیار	Empty vessel makes much noise.
برای ہر مرض باشد دوائی و لوکل داء دواء	Every sore has its salve.
وعیب کہ سلطان بہ پسندد ہنراست	A breath can make them as a breath has made.
الخموشی نیم رضا سکوت موجب رضا	Silence gives consent.
القابض دلیل المالک	Possession is nine points of the law.
آب حیوان درون تاریک است	No gains without pains.
تیر تقدیر از سپر تدبیر رونمی گردد	There is no armour against fate.

خود را فضیحت و دیگریرا نصیحت	The pot calls the kettle black.
عاقبت جوینده یابنده لطف حق چون بمر بنده بود	Where there is a will there is a way.
چه خوش بر آید بیک کرشمه دوکار	To kill two birds with one stone.
آنرا که حساب پاک است از محاسبه چه باک	Truth seeks no corners.
دیوار گوش دارد آهسته لب بر جنبان	The very walls have ears.
بود هم پیشه با هم پیشه دشمن	Two of a trade seldom agree.
هر فرعونی را موسی	Tit for tat.
جور اُستاد بر زمهر پدر	Spare the rod and spoil the child.
وقت را غنیمت دان هرقدر که بتوانی وقت فرصت را غنیمت دان	Strike the iron while it is hot.
ای ز فرصت باخبر در هرچه باشی زود باش or بهر کاری محلّی بایدش	Everything in its place and a place for everything.
سنگ زدن برمحل به که زر دادن غیر محل	
استاد و معلم که بود کم ازار- طفلان خرسک باز بد در بازار	What is bred in the bone will never wear out of the flesh.
اگر چوب حاکم نباشد زپی- کند زنگنی مست در کبعه نی	When the cat is away the mice are at play.
بزرگی بعقل است نه بسال	Wisdom alone is age.
ولی را ولی می شناسد	Set a thief to catch a thief.
صبر تلخ است و لیکن بر شیرین دارد	Patience and perseverance overcome mountains.
زیره بر کرمان بردن-و فلفل بهندستان آوردن	To carry coals to Newcastle.
دو دل یک شود بشکند کوه را پراگندگی آرد انبوه را	Union is strength.

تشنگانرا نماید اندر خواب- همه عالم بچشم چشمهٔ آب	The jaundiced see everything about them yellow.
صیاد نه هربار شکاری ببرد- باشد که یکی روز پلنگش بدرد	The battle is not always to the strong.
تکبر عزازیل را خوار کرد	Pride goes before destruction.
بر سفره همه دشمنان دوست نمانید	Prosperity gains friends and adversity tries them.
شاگرد رفته رفته بر اُستاد میرسد	Practise makes a man perfect.
از امروز کاری بفردا ممان	Never put off till to-morrow what you can do to-day.
کار امروز را بفردا مگذار	Procrastination is the thief of time.
لعل را در گاوی سگ نباید انداخت - قدر عیسی کجا شناسد خر	Pearls before swine.
یک ندادن و صد دادن دلیل حماقت است	Pennywise and pound foolish.
علاج واقعه پیش از وقوع باید کرد بلا ندیده دعارا شروع باید کرد	Prevention is better than cure.
نام سگ گیری چوب در دست گیری	Speak of the devil and he is sure to appear.
ظاهر از شیخ و باطن از شیطان	Much cry and little wool.
کار بر صحاش کن - کُلّ امرا مرهون باوقاتها	Make hay while the sun shines.
سنگ را که نتوان برداشت بباید بوسید و گذاشت	Make the best of a bad bargain.
زا کن کیسه بخور هریسه	Money makes the mare go.
هر بهار را خزان در پیش- هر کمال را زوال	No rose without a thorn.
تا نه باشد چیزکی مردم نگویند چیزها	No smoke without fire.

از یک گل بهار نمیشود	One flower makes no garland.
یکی را نوش دیگریرا نیش	One man's meat is another's poison.
هرکه از دیده دور از دل دور	Out of sight, out of mind.
یک انگور و صد زنبور	One vacancy, a hundred applicants.
جای گل گل باش و جای خار خار	In Rome do as the Romans do.
آواز دهل از دور خوش می آید	Its distance lends enchantment to the view.
شد غلامی که آبجور آرد - آمد و غلام ببرد	King Log to King Stork.
کاهلی نشانهٔ بخل است	Idleness is the source of misery.
سوال از آسمان جواب از ریسمان	I talk of chalk, you of cheese.
در عمل کوش هرچه خواهی پوش - تاج بر سر نه و علم بر دوش	It is not the cowl that makes the friar.
نیم حکیم خطرهٔ جان - نیم ملا خطرهٔ ایمان	A little learning is a dangerous thing.
صفت را چه باید گفت	Look not a gift horse in the mouth.
خر است آنکه همیشه زیر بار است	An ass is always imposed upon.
گنجشگ در دست به که باز در هوا	A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.
اگر خصم جان تو عاقل بود - به از دوستداری که جاهل بود	A prudent enemy is better than a foolish friend.
دوست آن باشد که گیرد دست دوست در پریشان حالی و در ماندگی	A friend in need is a friend indeed.
	A rolling stone gathers no moss.
دیرآید درست آید	Better late than never.

ثنائی خود بخود گفتن نزیبد مرد عاقل را	Self-praise is no recommendation.
سرتیشہ بر پائی خود میزنی	To kick against the pricks.
کس نگوید کہ دوغ من ترش است	No one cries stinking fish.
تا سمنہ زمانہ در روش است	Every cock fights best on his own dung-hill.
ز دریا میکشد صیاد دام آہستہ آہستہ ـ بمطلب میرسد جویای کام آہستہ آہستہ ـ (یا) ہرچہ دیرآید درست آید	Slow and steady wins the race.
کہ دشمن توان بود درزئی دوست	A wolf in lamb's clothing.
بر سفرہ ہمہ دشمنان دوست نمایند	Success makes the fool wise.
فراز عالم را سر در نشیب است	Pride will have a fall.
چاہ کن را چاہ در پیش	He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it.
ہرکہ نام نیک یافت دولت جاوید یافت	A good name is better than wealth.
دیدہ باید کہ شتر بکدام پہلو بنشیند	Observe what way the wind blows.
دوستی با مردم دانا نکوست دشمن دانا بہ از نادان دوست	A false friend is worse than a bitter enemy.
نمی بینی کہ گاوی در علف زار— بیالاید ہمہ گاوان دہ را	One scabbed sheep infects the whole flock.
این خانہ تمام آفتاب است	Chips of one block.
مضی ما مضی	Done is done.
گذشتہ را صلواۃ—آئندہ را احتیاط	Let the dead bury the dead.
ہمت مردان مدد خدا	God helps those who help themselves.
چہ تخم افگنی بر ہمہ چشم دار	Water seeks its level.
	As you sow, so you shall reap.
وزیرے چنین شہر یارے چنین	As gods are so are the worshippers.

مار گزیده از ریسمان می ترسد	A burnt child shuns the fire.
عاقل را اشاره کافی است	A word to the wise is sufficient.
رقص کردن خود نداند صحن را گوید کج است	A bad workman quarrels with his tools.
اندک اندک بهم شود بسیار	A penny saved is a penny gained.
درختی که اکنون گرفت است پای — بنیروی شخصی بر آید زجای	A stitch in time saves nine.
بدیدار مردم شدن عیب نیست — و لیکن نه چندانکه گویند بس	A constant guest is never welcomed.
حصه بقدر جسه - آب بقدر ظرف	Might is right.
پر بیشه گمان مبر که خالیست — شاید که پلنگ خفته باشد	All is not gold that glitters.
طمع را سه حرف است بر سه تهی — ازان نیست مر طامعان را بهی عز من قنع — و ذل من طمع	Avarice is the root of all evils.
غلام نو تیز رو	A new broom sweeps clean.
دروغگو را بهانهٔ بسیار — دروغ را فروغی نیست	A lie has no legs.
خر ار جل اطلس بپوشد خر است	An ass is an ass though he be clad in gold and scarlet.
رویش به بین حالش مپرس	A man is known by the company he keeps.
عادت مجبول برنمی گردد	A man's nature does not change.
هر کاری هر مردی	All cannot go to Corinth.
هرکسی را بهر کاری ساختند — مهر اورا دردلش انداختند	A mother's bowels yearn.
من زنده جهان زنده من مرده جهان مرده	Good mind, good find.
گدائی بر محل خویش سلطان می شود	Every man's house is his castle.

مرد آخر بین مبارک بنده ایست	All is well that ends well.
کباب آنکس راست کو راست زور	Might is right.
هرکس را گفتگوئی دیگر است	Many men many words.
باندازهٔ گلیم پا دراز کن	Cut your coat according to your cloth.
مال حرام بود بجای حرام رفت	Evil got, evil spent.
کوتاه دست بلند خیال	Building castle in the air.
قناعت توانگر کند مرد را	A contented mind is a continual feast.
سگ حضور به از برادر دور	A living dog is better than a dead lion.
آهسته خرام-بلکه مخرام	Seldom do but never do.
تکبر بود مایهٔ مدبری	It is pride that goes before a fall.
داشته آید بکار-گرچه باشد سرمار	Safe bind, safe find.
کم گفتن دلیل هوشمندی است	He is wise who speaks little.
قطره قطره بهم شود دریا	Little moments make an hour.
سخن گرچه با او ز پازه بود- نگفتن هم از گفتنش به بود	Silence doth seldom any harm.
گریه بوقت به از خندهٔ بیوقت	Crying is better than untimely laughter.
نا برده رنج گنج میسر نمی شود	Risk not, gain not.
صبوری کلید در جنت است	Contentment cannot be too dearly purchased.
اول اندیش و انگهی گفتار	Calculate well before you resolve.
هرکس بخیال خویش خطبی دارد	Many men, many minds.
به اندازهٔ گلیم پا دراز کن	Stretch your legs according to your coverlet.
دُزد دُزد را می شناست	Set a thief to catch a thief.
علم شی به از جهل شی	Knowledge is better than ignorance.

گرنبودی چوب تر فرمان نبردی گاو خر	Spare the rod and spoil the child.
مرد نمّام اعتبار را نشاید	Put no faith in tale-bearers.
جهد نما تا که بجائی برسی	Patience and perseverence will crown you with success.
بزرگی بعقل است نه بسال	Wisdom is age.
در نومیدی بسی امیدست ∴	Even in the darkest cloud
پایان شب سیاه سفیدست ∴	silver lining is discernible.
اول به آخر نسبتی دارد	Coming events cast their shadows beforehand.
همت مردان مدد خدا - از تو حرکت از ما برکت	God helps those who help themselves.
دو بشنو یک بگو	Hear twice before you speak once.
من ترا حاجی بگویم تو مرا حاجی بگو	Do to others as you would want them to do to you.
نا خوشی زکوة تندرستی است	Disease is the tax of pleasure.
خاکساران جهانرا بحقارت منگر - تو چه دانی که درین گرد سواری باشد	Despise not your inferiors.
معزولی به که مشغولی	Retirement is better than active engagement.
جور اُستاد به ز مهر پدر	The strictness of the teacher is better than the fondness of the father.
خادم العلوم تجربة	Experience is the mother of science.
سالی که نکوست از بهارش پیدا	Evil beginnings have bad endings.
هر کرا صبر نیست حکمت نیست	He who has no patience has no wisdom.

الانسان مرکب من الخطاء و النسیان	No rose without a thorn. To err is human.
اول فکر بعد عمل	Look before you leap.
	Better be alone than in bad company.
خوردن برای زیستن و ذکر کردن [است تو معتقد که زیستن از بهر خوردن است	Live not to eat, but eat to live.
گندم از گندم بروید جو ز جو	As is the fruit-tree, such is the fruit.
اندک اندک بهم شود بسیار	Trifle trifle makes more.
بعد مردن سهراب نوش دارو	After death the doctor.
به شیرین زبانی زبانی نباشد	A good word costs nothing.
بزرگی بعقل است نه بسال	Greatness depends on wisdom.
یک آفت و هزار بلا	Misfortunes seldom come singly.
اول اندیش و انگه گفتار	Look before you leap.
هرکسی روز بهی می طلبد از ایام	Every one thinks his own geese swans.
لطف حق چون برسر بنده بود- عاقبت جوینده یا بنده بود-	Where there is a will there is a way.

BOMBAY EDUCATION SOCIETY'S STEAM PRESS, BYCULLA.

فردوسی

حکیم ابوالقاسم حسن بن اسحٰق بن شرف شاہ فردوسی طوسی از دہقان زادہای طوس بود* اگرچہ در مبادی حال بزراعت اشتغال میداشت امّا ہردم تخم تحصیل علم در مزرعۂ دل میکاشت حتی کہ افصح زمان و اشعر دوران و مقتدای سخن سنجان گردید چنانچہ بعضی از شعرا گفتہ*

در شعر سہ کس پیمبرانند ∴ ہرچند کہ لا نبی و بعدی
ابیات و قصیدۂ و غزل را ∴ فردوسی و انوری و سعدی

FIRDOUSI.

Hakim Abul Qasim Hasan bin Ishaq bin Sharf Shah Firdousi Toosi was the son of a peasant of Toos. Although in the early part of his life he was engaged in agriculture, but still he always sowed the seeds of learning in the soil of his heart, till he became the most eloquent of his age, the greatest poet of his time and the chief of the learned men.

Some of the poets have said of him :—

In poetry-writing three persons are prophets,
Although according to the Hadis there is no prophet after me.
In verses, odes and songs,
Firdousi and Anwari and Saadi.

و دیگری گفتہ

سکۂ کاندر سخن فردوسی طوسی نہاد ∴
تا نہ پنداری کہ کس از زمرۂ فرسی نہاد ∴
اول از بالای کرسی بر زمین آمد سخن ∴
او دگربار از زمینش برد و بر کرسی نہاد ∴

Another has said :—

Firdousi Toosi passed his coins in the kingdom of letters.
That you may not think who among the Persian born.
First speech came down from the chair of heaven on the ground.
He elevated it again from the ground to the chair of heaven.

انوري گفته

آفرین بر روان فردوسی ∴ آن همایون نژاد فرخنده
او نه استاد بود و ما شاگرد ∴ او خداوند بود و ما بنده

Anwari has said:—

Praise be on the soul of Firdousi,
He of noble birth and good.
He was not a tutor and we pupils,
He was master and we his slaves.

نظامی گفته

سخن گوی پیشینه دانای طوس ∴ که آراست روی سخن چون عروس

Nizami has said:—

The poet of yore, and the wise man of Toos,
He who adorned the face of letters like a bride.

سعدی گفته

چه خوش گفت فردوسیٔ پاک زاد ∴ که رحمت بران تربت پاک باد

المختصر که پایهٔ فردوسی در سخنوری بس بلند است و پایگاه او بس ارجمند—همصفیران او ستایش اورا داستان سرائیده اند و پس آیندگان او تا این زمان زبان خود را در وصفش همیشه شکرافشان داشته و مرتبهٔ شاعری او را از شاهنامه که شاه نامهای چامه گویان است عیان است ازین سبب بر چند بیت که در مدح و قدح سلطان محمود گفته و دو رباعی و یک قطعه اکتفانموده شد—وفات فردوسی طوسی در سنه ۴۱۱ بود*

در مدح

ز یزدان ابر شاه باد آفرین ∴ که نازد با و تخت و تاج و نگین
بگیتی بکان اندرون زر نماند ∴ که منشور نام او را بر نخواند
جهان آفرین تا جهان آفرید ∴ چو او مر زبانی نیامد پدید
جهاندار محمود شاهی بزرگ ∴ به آبشخور آرد همی میش و گرگ
ز کشمیر تا پیش دریای چین ∴ برو شهریاران کنند آفرین
چو کودک لب از شیر مادر بشست ∴ بگهواره محمود گوید نخست

بیزم اندرون آسمان و فاست ∴ برزم اندرون شیر جنگ آزماست
بتن ژنده پیل و بجان جبرئیل ∴ بکف ابر بهمن بدل رود نیل

د رقدح

ایا شاه محمود کشور کشای ∴ گر از من نترسی بتوس از خدای
بدانش رنید شاه را دستگاه ∴ و گر نه مرا بر نشاندی بگاه
وگر شاه را شاه بودی پدر ∴ بسر بر نهادی مرا تاج زر
اگر مادر شاه بانو بدی ∴ مرا سیم و زر تا بزانو شدی
چو اندر تبارش بزرگی نبود ∴ نیارست نام بزرگان شنود

Saadi has said:—

How well has Firdousi the gentle-born said,
May blessing be upon that sacred tomb.

In short, the position which Firdousi occupies in the realm of letters is very prominent. The contemporaneous carolers have sung his praise in volumes, and his successors have, till this time, kept their lips sweetened with his eulogy. His merit as a great poet is evident from the Shah Namah, which is, in fact, the king of the books of poets. The following verses in eulogy and satire of Sultan Mahmood, the two quatrains and the strophe are from him. Firdousi Toosi died in 411 H.

In eulogy.

Praise be on the king from God,
For the throne, crown and sceptre pride in him.
In the world, there is no wealth in the mines,
Which does not bear the impress of his name.
Since the Creator of the world created the world,
A shepherd of the people like him has not been seen.
The king of the world, Mahmud, is a mighty king,
He makes the lamb and wolf drink from one stream.
From Kashmere to the Chinese sea
The kings shower praise on him.
When the child washes its lip from its mother's milk,
It first utters the name of Mahmood in the cradle.
In banquet he is the heaven of fidelity,
In war he is a fighting lion.

In body he is a living elephant, in soul Gabriel,
His hands are the clouds *Bahman** his heart the Nile.

In satire.

O Mahmood, the king of the world!
If you do not fear me, fear God.
From wisdom the king had no share,
Else he would have placed me in high position.
If the king had a king for his no father,
He would have placed on my head a golden crown.
If the mother of the king had been a lady,
Gold and silver would have been up to my knee.
When in his family there was no nobility,
He could not hear the names of the illustrious dead.

هم از وست

بیا بگوی که پرویز از زمانه چه خورد ∴
برو بپوش که کسری ز روزگار چه برد ∴
گر او گرفت ممالک بدیگران بگذاشت ∴
ور این نهاد خزاین بدیگران بسپرد ∴
بسی رنج دیدم بسی گفته خواندم ∴ زگفتار تازی و از پهلوانی
بجز حسرت و جز وبال گناهان ∴ ندارم کنون از جوانی نشانی
بیاد جوانی کنون مویه دارم ∴ دریغ از جوانی دریغ از جوانی
تا چند نهی بر دل خود غصه و درد ∴
تا جمع کنی سیم سفید و زر زرد ∴
زان پیش که گردد نفس گرم تو سرد ∴
با دوست بخور که دشمنت خواهد خورد ∴

The following lines are also from him:—

Come and tell me what did Purwez enjoy from the world,
Go and ask what Kisra carried away from the world;
If that man conquered countries, he left them to others;
If this person laid wealth, he entrusted it to others.
I have seen much distress and have read much,
In the sayings of the Arabs and the Persians.

* The eleventh solar month of the Persian year when the sea is in Aquarius.

Except, regret and anxiety of sins,
I have nothing of the trace of youth.
In remembrance of youth I mourn and
Sigh for youth, sigh for youth.
How long shall you give anger and pain to the heart,
How long shall you amass gold and silver!
Before this that your warm breath becomes cold,
Enjoy with friends for your enemy will enjoy.

سعدي

مصلح الدّين سعدی شیرازی—منشی بیهمال و شاعری با کمال بود—شاگرد شیخ ابوالفرج بن جوزی و شیخ عبدالقادر جیلانی رحمهما الله بوده و بسیار سفر نموده و تفرج بادان فرموده در سنه ٦٩١ در شیراز وفات یافته ازوست

فضل خدایرا که تواند شمار کرد ∴ یا کیست آنکه شکر یکی از هزار کرد
آن صانعی لطیف که برفرش کائنات ∴ چندین هزار صورت الوان نگار کرد
بحر آفرید و بر و درختان و آدمی ∴ خورشید و ماه و انجم و لیل و نهار کرد
الوان نعمتیکه نشاید سپاس گفت ∴ اسباب راحتی که ندانی شمار کرد
اجزای خاک تیره بتأثیر آفتاب ∴ بستان و میوه و چمن و لاله زار کرد
شکر کدام فضل بجا آورد کسی ∴ حیران بماند هرکه درین افتکار کرد

SAADI.

Mosleh-uddin Saadi of Shiraz was a learned man and a perfect poet. He was a pupil of Abul Farj bin Jawzi and Shaikh Abdul Kadir Jilani (blessings of God be upon them). He travelled much and visited many countries. In the year 691 H. he died in Shiraz. The following lines are from him:—

Who can count the blessings of God,
Or who among a thousand can repay with thankfulness.
That great Artificer on the carpet of creation,
Has painted thousands of different figures.
He has created water and land, and trees and men,
The sun, the moon, the stars and day;
He has created different good things for which there can be no thanks,
And the articles of comfort which cannot be counted.

The parts of the black earth from the influence of the sun,
Produce thousands of gardens and fruits.
For which blessings can any body thank him,
He remained puzzled who pondered over this.

حافظ

خواجہ شمس الدین محمد حافظ شیرازی — در شیرین گفتاری سخن طرازی مشہور جہان و مطلوب سلاطین زمان بود — اما وی بمقتضای تجرد منشی و آزاد کیشی دوام از ملازمت سلاطین عظام گریزان — و مدام مدام تجرد در ساغر قفرد ریزان بود تا آنکہ در شیراز بسنہ ۷۹۱ ساغر حیات آن صافی مشرب سوفی صفات از ماء الحیات ممات لبریز گردید * دولت شاہ سال وصال اورا سنہ ۷۶۴ گفتہ — اشعار دیوانش ہم منتخب است و ازان

این چند ابیات منتخب

سرای و مدرسہ و بحث علم و طاق و رواق ∴
چہ سود چون دل دانا و چشم بینا نیست ∴
سرای قاضی یزد او چہ منبع فضلست ∴
خلاف نیست کہ علم نظر در آنجا نیست ∴

تو نیک و بد خود ہم از خود بپرس ∴ چرا دیگری بایدت محتسب
ز بہ دور باش و بہ نیکی بکوش ∴ مکن عمر ضایع بلہو و لعب
سال و فال و حال و مال و اصل و نسل و تخت و بخت ∴
بادت اندر شہر یاری بر قرار و بر دوام ∴
سال خوم فال نیکو حال سالم مال پر ∴
اصل ثابت نسل باقی تخت عالی بخت رام ∴

عیبیست عظیم بر کشیدن خود را ∴ وز جملۂ خلق بر گزیدن خود را
از مردمک دیدہ بباید آموخت ∴ دیدن ہم را و ندیدن خود را

HAFIZ.

Khaja Shams-Uddin Mohammad Hafiz of Shiraz was, in the art of writing sweet, soul-enrapturing poetry, well-known in the world and favourite of the Sultans. But he on account of the predilection to live a life of calm retirement, shunned the service of the King and quaffed the cup in perfect solitude.

In the year 791 H. he breathed his last in Shiraz. Dawlat Shah has given the year 754 H. as the year of his death. The verses of his *Diwan* are all select and the following are extracted from it:—

Of what use is the Serai, the Madrasah, the talk of knowledge, the arch and the portico,
When one does not possess a knowing heart, and seeing eyes.
The house of the Kazi of Yezd is the fountain of knowledge,
But it is not incorrect that the knowledge of sight is not there.
You ask of yourself what is good and bad in you,
Why should another be the revealer and corrector.
Shun the evil and endeavour to be good,
Do not waste the life in vice and profligacy.
The year, the omen, the present (time), the wealth, the lineage, the race, the throne and the fortune,
May during his sovereignty be fixed and permanent.
The year happy, the omen good, the present (time) safe and the wealth abundant,
The lineage durable, the race lasting, the throne elevated and the fortune enslaved.
It is a great defect to think much of one's self,
And to consider one self superior to all.
From the pupils of the eye, it should be learnt,
To see all and not to see one's self.

قاآنی

میرزا حبیب قاآنی پسر میرزا محمّد علی در شیراز متولد شده بعد تحصیل علوم سالها در شیراز و کرمان و طهران بسر برده — قاآنی در بارگاه پادشاه ذیجاه ناصرالدّین قاجار وظیفه خوار و ملک الشعرا بوده — در طهران در سنه ۱۲۷۰ وفات یافت

از وست

بگردون تیره ابری بامدادان برشد از دریا ∴
جواہر خیز گوہر ریز لولو بیز و گوہر زا ∴
تنش با قیر آلوده دلش با شیر آموده ∴
برون پر سرمهٔ سوده درون پر لولوی لالا ∴

لب غنچه رخ لاله برون آورده تپخاله ∴
ز بس باران ازین ژاله بطرف گلشن و صحرا ∴
عذار گل خراشیده خط ریحان تراشیده ∴
ز بس الماس پاشیده بباغ از ژالهٔ بیضا ∴
خروشد هردم از گردون بپوشد بر تن هامون ∴
ز سنبل کسوت اکسون ز لاله خلعت دیبا ∴
ز بس لاله زبس نسرین دمن رنگین چمن مشکین ∴
ز بوی آن ز رنگ این هوا دلکش زمین زیبا ∴

QAANI.

Mirza Habib Qaani was the son of Mirza Mohammed Ali and was born at Shiraz. After having acquired knowledge, he passed many years in Shiraz, Kerman and Teheran. Qaani was pensioner in the court of the mighty monarch Nasir-uddin and also poet laureate. In 1270 H. he died in Teheran. The following lines are from him :—

In the morning a black cloud rose from the sea to the heaven,
Jewel-bearing, pearl-raining, pearl-kneading and pearl-bearing.
Its body is besmeared black, its heart is mixed with milk,
Its exterior is full of powdered surma, its interior full of bright pearls.
The lip of the bud, the face of the tulip have fever grains,
It has rained hail in garden and desert.
It has rubbed the face of the rose and clipped the hair of the fragrant grass,
And has strewn diamonds in the garden from the white hail.
It roars every moment from heaven and clothes the body of desert,
With the hyacinth black garment, with the tulip silken dress.
With tulip and nusreen pretty coloured is refuse-ground and musk-scented the garden ;
With the smell of that and the color of this, the air is refreshing and earth beautiful.

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